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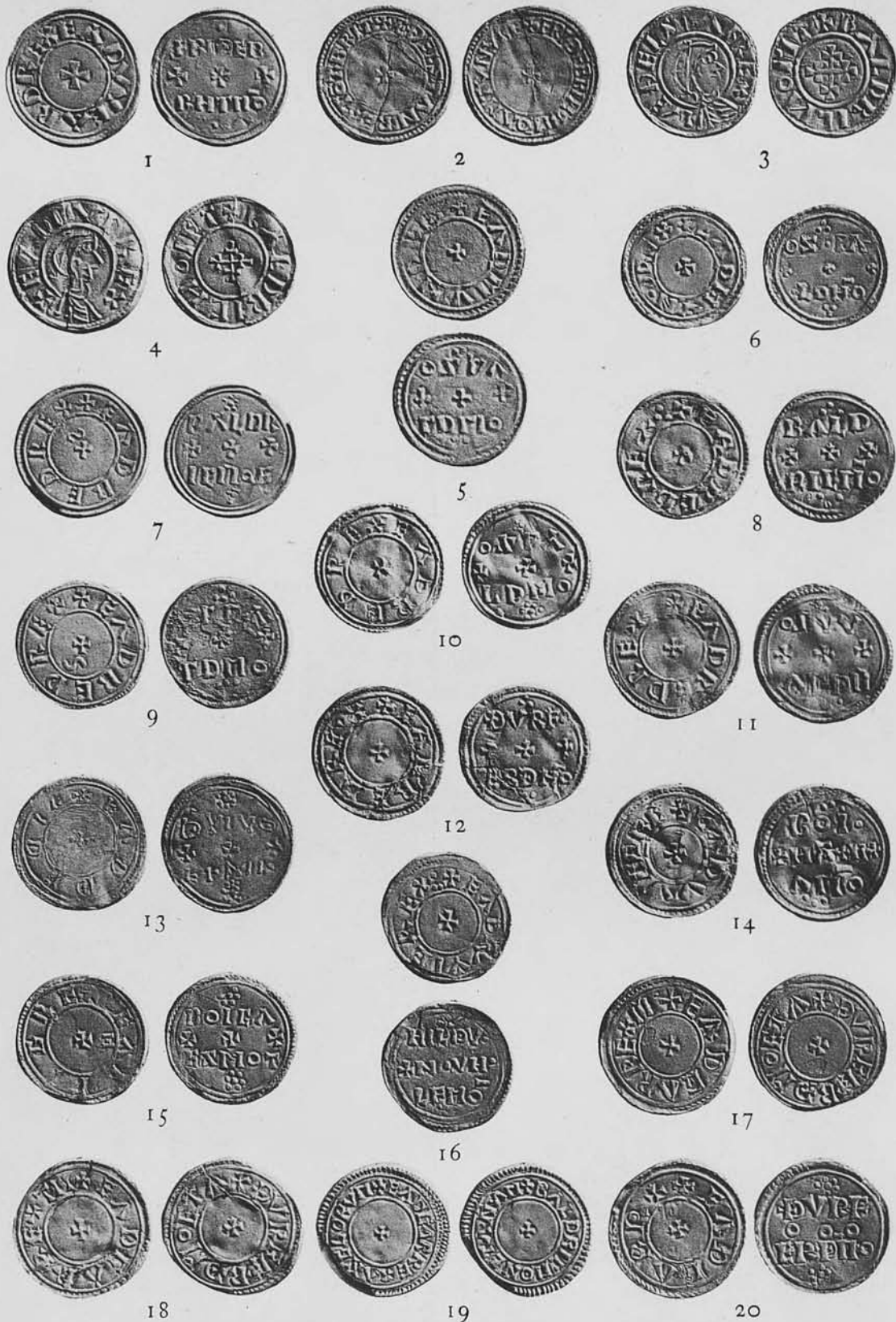


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COINS OF THE NORTHAMPTON MINT

## THE NORTHAMPTON AND SOUTHAMPTON MINTS.

BY WILLIAM C. WELLS.

**I**T is now thirty years since I first advanced the claims of Northampton to a mint in Anglo-Saxon times, and questioned the general attribution to Southampton of the series of coins reading HAMTVN for their mint-name. Sir John Evans, in 1898, admitted the possibility of a mint at Northampton in Anglo-Saxon times, and also the probability that certain coins reading ON HAMTVN, etc., issued in the reigns of Eadweard the Confessor, William I and William II, were struck at Northampton and not at Southampton. Mr. Andrew wrote in 1902 that it was probable that Earl Waltheof had a joint mint at Northampton and Huntingdon, and Major Carlyon-Britton, in his *Numismatic History of the Reign of William I and William II*, although he followed the old custom in his classification, also admitted that Northampton might have claims to some of the series in both Anglo-Saxon and Norman times. Mr. Brooke, in the Catalogue of English Coins in the British Museum, accepts a like possibility in the Norman period.

But my claim is not that there is a possibility of selection from the HAMTVN coins of either the Anglo-Saxon or Norman series, or both, in favour of Northampton. It is that the whole series of HAMTVN coins must have been issued from the Northampton mint, and that Southampton was represented only by a comparatively brief issue bearing the mint-name HAMPIC, including, of course, its contractions. This appears also to be the opinion of Major Carlyon-Britton, as expressed in *The Chronological Sequence of the Types of Eadweard the Martyr and Æthelræd II*, although he again follows, to some extent, the old classification.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Numismatic Journal*, vol. xvi, pp. 5-31.

The question of the Hamtun mint, or mints, and the correct allocation of the coins issued therefrom, has been approached therefore by several numismatists ; but in spite of the attention given to the subject, no serious attempt has hitherto been made to lay down a definite rule by which we can, with any degree of certainty, attribute to their respective mints the coins with readings ranging from HAM to HAMTVNE, and from HAM to HAMPIC. Numismatists in general have been content to leave the matter where it stood more than a century ago, when Ruding wrote his *Annals of the Coinage*. Consequently it is with considerable diffidence that I approach this question of the correct allocation of the series of coins to their respective mints ; but there can be little doubt that every student of Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman coins will agree that we should evolve a more satisfactory method of arranging the Hamtun series than the present generally adopted plan of assigning all these coins to Southampton, and leaving to Northampton only those that read Norham, etc., thus ignoring the much stronger claim of Northampton to a large majority of the coins with mint-readings ranging from HAM to HAMTVNE.

Ruding, assuming that all the HAM-HAMTVNE coins emanated from one mint, discusses the relative claims of Northampton and Southampton to the coins so inscribed, and suggests that in Anglo-Saxon times Northampton would be of little importance, merely on account of its inland situation. But, as the capital of a shire, it must from a very early date have been of importance as a centre of trade and commerce for a large surrounding district, as well as the centre of government for the shire ; and taking into consideration the town's isolated position, the bad roads, and the difficulties of transport and of communication, a local mint would be a necessary adjunct to supply currency for the district, and to enable traders to carry on their business and to pay tolls, taxes, etc. That Northampton, which was surrendered by the Danes to Eadweard the Elder in A.D. 921, was of considerable importance as a fortress in the reign of Æthelstan, is shown by the fact that when he formed the Mercian shires those of Bedford, Buckingham, Hertford,

Huntingdon and Northampton were of purely military creation—districts assigned to the fortresses which he or his predecessor had raised at those centres.

In or about the year 928,<sup>1</sup> in the reign of Æthelstan, at the synod held at Greatley, near Andover, Hampshire, it was ordered that "there be one [kind of] money over all the king's dominion, and that no man mint except within port."<sup>2</sup> It was further enacted that Canterbury should have seven moneyers—four for the king, two for the [arch]bishop, and one for the abbot; Rochester, three—two for the king, and one for the bishop; London, eight; Winchester, six; Lewes, two; Hamtune, two; Wareham, two; Exeter, two; Shaftesbury, two; Dorchester, Hastings and Chichester, one each, and "in the other burhs one moneyer."<sup>3</sup> This ordinance means that the type of coin was to be the same throughout the whole realm; in addition to the places enumerated, all burhs, or fortresses, should have the privilege of a mint with one moneyer, and no money should be coined except within the gate of a fortified town or *burh*. In the case of Southampton, which does not appear to have been a fortified town, the mint would be situated within the gate of the *tun*.

It has been locally claimed<sup>4</sup> that the Hamtun referred to in Æthelstan's ordinance was the northern town of that name, but it will be observed that all the other towns there specified were in Wessex and southern England, and there can be little doubt that the Hamtun of the ordinance was the southern town, also in Wessex, and not the northern one in Mercia. Numismatists have always accepted this view.

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Liebermann, *Die Gesetze Angelsachsen*, dates Æthelstan's Laws from 925 to 935.

<sup>2</sup> Thorpe, *Ancient Laws and Institutes*, vol. i, p. 88.

<sup>3</sup> For the full text, in Anglo-Saxon, Latin, and English, of these and other monetary laws passed at Greatley, see Major P. Carlyon-Britton's paper, *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. vi, pp. 14, 15.

<sup>4</sup> Hartsorne, *Historical Memorials of Northampton*, p. 221; Wilks, *History of Hampshire*, vol. ii, p. 163.



In the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, and in other pre-Norman records, both Northampton and Southampton are generally called Hamtun, and it is necessarily amongst the coins similarly inscribed that we must search for those of the Northampton mint; though that fact does not appear to have been recognised by numismatists in the past. The line of reasoning generally followed is that, in *Domesday*, Southampton is invariably called Hamtune or Hantone, whilst Northampton is in several instances styled Norhanton, and the fact that it is also styled Hantone is usually ignored; therefore, because Æthelstan's ordinance assigns two moneyers to Hamtune, sc. to Southampton, and because Northampton is not specifically mentioned, numismatists have followed the line of least resistance by assigning all Hamtun coins to Southampton. This assumption has been carried so far as to assign to Southampton the coins of Eadweard the Confessor, of William I, and of William II, reading **SÆPINE ON HAMT**, etc., when we have coins of the early part of the Conqueror's reign which read **SÆPINE ON NOB HANT**; and a penny of Henry I, Hawkins, 265, by **PAIEN : ON : HAMTV[N]**, is allocated to Southampton, although we have coins of the succeeding type, Hawkins, 262, inscribed **PAIEN : ON : NORHAM**. There can be very little doubt that all these coins, whether inscribed Hamtun or Norham, were issued at Northampton.

In the *British Museum Catalogue*, Norman Coins, vol. i, p. clxxxii, it is noted—apparently as an argument in favour of assigning the Hamtun coins to Southampton—that in the *Gesta Regum*, William of Malmesbury, with one exception only, when the form Suthamtunensis occurs, always uses Hamtona or Hamtuna for Southampton, and invariably Northantona or Northantuna for Northampton. The *Gesta Regum*, however, was written about A.D. 1120–1125 when Northanton had become the common form, though, as we shall see, that of Hamtun, or Hanton, was still in use, locally at least, for Northampton; and William of Malmesbury, a West-Saxon, would naturally incline to use Hamtun for Southampton, and the full form for Northampton for the sake of distinction.

Symeon of Durham, a contemporary of William of Malmesbury,



in the *Historia Regum*, under date 939 which should be 941, states that in this year Anlaf came southward from York, and attacked Northampton, where he was repulsed, etc. In this passage Symeon uses the accusative case "Hamtonam."

A coin in my possession provides evidence of the numismatic use of the form Anton or Antonia to designate Northampton in the early part of Stephen's reign. It is of Stephen's first type, Hawkins, 270, and struck from dies which, although made with official irons, appear to be of local workmanship. The reverse is inscribed **✠ PAEN : OY : ANTIÆ :**, and the coin therefore purports to have been issued by Paen, who was working at the Northampton mint in the reigns of Henry I and Stephen.

In the charters of Henry II, Southampton is sometimes referred to as Hantonia,<sup>1</sup> a form which is evidently intended on certain irregular coins issued in the reign of Stephen, which are inscribed **✠ SANSVN O ANTOI**, for Antonia, etc., and were probably issued at Southampton. That Northampton also was known in the twelfth century as Hantonia is proved by the previously described coin, the reverse legend of which was evidently intended for Paen on Antonia.

It can, however, be shown that the distinguishing prefix North—or South—was in use so early as in the middle of the tenth century, and again that the earlier form, without the prefix, was in use at Northampton so late as in the latter part of the twelfth century, and at Southampton even in the reign of Edward I. Indeed, Ingram, writing in 1823, in his notes to the *Saxon Chronicle* says of Northampton and Southampton that "the common people in both neighbourhoods generally say 'Hampton' to this day." Until the year 920, when Mercia lost its separate existence as a kingdom, and its Hamtun became subject to the King of Wessex, there was no need to distinguish the South Hamtun of Wessex from the North Hamtun of Mercia; but about the middle of the tenth century we begin to read of Suthamtonia, Suthamtuniensis provincia, and

<sup>1</sup> *Monasticon*, vol. vi, p. 1092.

Suthamtun-scire, although the older form Hamtun-scire, etc., was continued.

Thus, in 962, the Royal dues of Suthamtun were granted by Eadgar, with other possessions, to the Abbey of Abingdon—"Censumque quoque regale ad cenobium præfectum per singulos annos decorandum aet Suthamtune, unius aequæ navis piscationem et regale vectigal aet Hevitan Clife, alterius autem aet Portmonna Hythe," etc.<sup>1</sup> From this time onward the name Suthamtun and its Latinised forms become somewhat frequent, though by no means to the exclusion of the earlier ones, which still remained in common use; and in *Domesday* we find Southampton described as Hamtune and Hantone.

Southampton's earliest existing charter was granted by Henry II, and in it he refers to "my reeves and ministers of Hamtun," and ordains that "my men of Hanton shall have and hold their guild," etc. In 1180, William Briwer was made forester of the forest of Bere, with power to arrest transgressors there between the bars of Hamtun and the gates of Winchester. In 1201 there are notices of the tower or castle of Hamtun, and in the Southampton local ordinances so late as Edward the First's time we find references to the burgesses of Hantone.

At a meeting of the British Numismatic Society, March 23, 1923, Mr. W. J. Andrew exhibited the twelfth-century standard seal, or die, for the leaden matrices of Southampton's earliest seal, the date of which Mr. Andrew considered to be immediately after Henry II's grant of the gild-merchant and other privileges to Southampton. The seal is inscribed **SIGILLVM • VILLE • SVTHAMTONIÆ**, and thus provides additional evidence that the two forms were in use contemporaneously.

In the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* we find many references to Northampton, but prior to the year 1065, in all versions, with one exception, the form Hamtun or Hamtune (locative) is invariably used; the exception occurs in Cotton manuscript, Tiber. B. 1,

<sup>1</sup> Birch, *Cartularium Saxonicum*, vol. iii, p. 325; *Monasticon*, vol. i, p. 382.

where, in annal 1064, the form Northhamtune is used. In the Peterborough version, Bodleian manuscript, Laud, 636, down to 1065, the form Hamtune is used; in 1088 and 1106 we find Norðhamtune, but in 1140 Hamtun is reverted to, and in 1122 the unusual form Norhthamtune.

The earliest use of the prefix North that has come under my notice is on a coin of the reign of Eadgar (*British Museum Catalogue*, type III) which is inscribed BALDRIC MONETA N̄·AM. The N has a mark of contraction above it, and is separated from AM by a pellet, thus indicating two words – N [orth] ·AM [tun].<sup>1</sup> Hildebrand describes a coin also of Eadgar's reign, but of a later type, which reads BALDRIC ON HAMTV, which is evidently by the same moneyer, and of the same mint as that just described, thus providing additional evidence that the form Hamtun was used at the Northampton mint in Anglo-Saxon times.

In *Domesday* we find Hantone, as well as Northantone, and thence onward the latter name becomes usual, but, as in the case of Southampton, not to the exclusion of the older form, which was in use certainly so late as 1185. Thus, in an interesting document, *Descriptio Militum de Abbatia de Burgo*,<sup>2</sup> which Dr. Round dates between 1100 and 1120,<sup>3</sup> the form Hamtonascira is invariably used; and in a document entitled *De Dominabus et Puellis*,<sup>4</sup> written in 1185, the portion relating to Northamptonshire was originally headed "Hamton'sire," the prefix "Nor" having been added at a later period.

The foregoing references are sufficient to demonstrate that the old word Hamtun was commonly used to designate Northampton down to a period subsequent to its latest use upon the coinage, and

<sup>1</sup> This form occurs again in the reign of William I, when we find coins reading NOÐ HANT, and it survived until the seventeenth century in NORTH HAMPTON used on the title-page of a tract, and in 1657 the Town Chamberlain's tokens were inscribed I.S. IN. NORTH HAMPTON.

<sup>2</sup> Society of Antiquaries' manuscript, No. 60.

<sup>3</sup> *Feudal England*, p. 157.

<sup>4</sup> Public Record Office, *Sergeanties Fees*, etc., Bundle 1, No. 2.

that Hamtun and Northamtun, and Hamtun and Suthamtun were, so late as the second half of the twelfth century, used indifferently to designate Northampton and Southampton respectively.

There was probably little difference in the date at which mints were instituted at the two Hamtuns, but while the local demands upon the Northampton mint would necessarily increase as time went on, the demands upon the mint at Southampton would decrease.

It would be necessary for Northampton to supply currency to a large district of which it formed the centre. It was the only mint in the shire, with the exception of that which was established at Stamford Baron, on the extreme north-east border of the shire, probably in accordance with Æthelstan's ordinance, by which he granted at least one moneyer to all burhs. Prior to the reign of Eadwig the nearest mints were situated at Warwick and Leicester, each at a distance of more than thirty miles ; and at Stamford Baron and Oxford, each at a distance of at least forty miles from Northampton. In the reign of Æthelred II the mints at Aylesbury, thirty-seven miles, and Buckingham, twenty-one miles, commenced operations, and in the early years of the Conqueror's reign—probably in 1070—a mint was established at Peterborough in the extreme north-east of Northamptonshire, and at a distance of forty-two miles from the county town.

At Winchester, the temporary capital of England, situate within twelve miles of Southampton, for several centuries was situated the national Exchequer. This city was the great centre of trade and commerce in the south and west, and Southampton became, to a great extent, an appendage of Winchester numismatically,<sup>1</sup> as well as in other respects.

The demands upon the Southampton mint for local currency would not, at any time, be very great, owing to the close proximity of Winchester with its six or more moneyers ; and the ever increasing and, eventually, enormous output from the latter mint would render Southampton superfluous for the supply of currency to the sur-

<sup>1</sup> W. J. Andrew, *Henry I*, pp. 407-8.

rounding district. In late Anglo-Saxon times it was probably only in cases of emergency, such as the payment of large sums of coined money as Danegelt, when many dormant and semi-dormant mints became active, that any demand was made upon Southampton's resources as a mint,<sup>1</sup> and it probably ceased operations, as a royal mint, in the early part of the reign of Canute.

Southampton appears to have sprung into importance subsequently to the compilation of *Domesday*, where we find it recorded that :—

“ In the Borough of Hantune the King has 76 men who pay between them £7 for land-gafel (*de gablo terre*) as they did in the time of King Edward. 27 of these pay 8*d.* each, two pay 12*d.*, and the other fifty 6*d.*

“ The land of the following in this borough was quit (*quietam*), by the King's action (*ab ipso rege*), in the days of King Edward: Odo of Winchester; Anschil the priest; Chetel; Fulghel; Testill; the sons of Elric had 16 acres (and) Gerin 18 acres; Cheping had 3 houses quit, which Ralf de Mortemer now holds; Godwine 3 houses, which Bernard Pancevold holds. After King William came into England there settled in Hantone, 65 men of French birth, and 31 English. These pay between them £4 os. 6*d.* for all dues.

“ The following are entitled to (*habent*) the dues from their houses in Hantone by grant of King William: G(eoffrey) bishop [of Coutances] from 1; the abbot of Corneilles 1; the abbot of Lire 1; the count of Evreux 2; Ralf de Mortemer 2; Gilbert de Bretvile 2; William son of Stur 2; Ralf de Toden 1; Durand of Gloucestre 2; Hugh de Port 1; Hugh de

<sup>1</sup> It is of interest to note that the greater part of the known “ Hamwic ” coins have been found in Scandinavia in hoards of Anglo-Saxon coins which probably reached there in the form of Danegelt, and that we have no record of the finding of similar coins in English hoards.

Grentemaisnil 2 ; the count of Mortain 5 ; Aiulf the Chamberlain 5 ; Humfrey his brother ; Osbern Gifard 1 ; Nigel the physician 4 ; Richer de Andeli 4 ; Richard Pugnant 1 ; Stephan Stirman 2 ; Turstin the engineer (*machinator*) 2 ; Anchitil son of Osmund 3 ; Rainald Croc 1. The abbess of Wherwell has a fishery and a small piece of land ; it then paid 100 pence, now 10 shillings."

Wilks, in his *History of Hampshire* (vol. ii, p. 171), after quoting from the Southampton Borough accounts of 1156-8, says :—

" The comparison of these statements with the return in Domesday Book shows very clearly how thorough was the change in constitution and condition which had passed over the king's vill of Southampton. Already has the royal manor become a fortified town ; feudalism has made its way into the ancient holdings of the burgesses, and the religious orders are dividing with the king the profits of the burgh. Further, the King of England being lord of Normandy, a constant intercourse with the mainland, unknown whilst England was governed by its own insular sovereigns, brought through and by Southampton a perpetual succession of priests, monks, courtiers, messengers, soldiers, merchants, and artisans, who found in that town the most convenient English port on their way to or return from the mainland."

Southampton was always a favourite port of departure and arrival of our Norman and later kings to and from the Continent, whether in times of peace or when accompanied by their armies in war.

In 1194 Richard I kept Christmas there, and his successor John, who was very partial to Southampton as a residence, conferred upon the burgesses of that town many important privileges. In fact, during Norman and early Plantagenet times, Southampton became a town and port of considerable affluence, and if—even when the town had become so important, and its trade had increased so enormously—

the mint at Winchester could still supply the needs of that part of the country and render a mint at Southampton unnecessary, it is certain that the same influence could have made itself felt to an even greater degree in Anglo-Saxon times.

The enormous output from the Winchester mint in the time of William I may be gauged by the fact that, while the Beaworth hoard disclosed so few as from one to ten specimens each of many mints, those of the Winchester mint numbered no fewer than 1,610. This outnumbers the combined total of the three next highest in point of numbers, namely, London 807, Southwark 469, and Canterbury 287; and if we add the 36 "Ham tune" coins from the same hoard, their total is only 1,599, or 11 less than that of Winchester alone.

The Beaworth hoard was found within six or seven miles of Winchester, from which fact it may be contended that the coins were collected in the vicinity in which they were discovered, which would account for the high percentage of Winchester coins in the hoard; but even so, the same possible circumstance would have governed the Ham tune coins also had they been issued at the neighbouring town of Southampton, and would have considerably increased the number of Ham tune coins in the hoard.

I have already shown that certain moneyers in the reigns of Eadgar, William I, and Henry I used the form Ham tune as well as Northanton, thus demonstrating that the earlier form was, undoubtedly, used on coins issued from the Northampton mint, and it is a reasonable assumption that all coins bearing the mint-name Ham tune emanated from that mint, as it appears highly improbable that Southampton would use the same form upon its coinage.

If further evidence be needed that the coins of William I, by the moneyer Sæwine with the mint-name Ham tune, etc., and consequently those of Eadward the Confessor and William II, by the same moneyer, were struck at Northampton, that evidence lies in the contents of a hoard of coins of that reign found a few years ago in the village of Scaldwell near Northampton. We have no complete record of its contents, as it was dispersed. The major portion



of the find consists of about 260 pennies and cut half-pennies, all of which, with one exception, were of one type, and were issued from 39 different mints, thus giving an average of less than 7 coins to each mint. These included London, of which mint there were 50 or more specimens, but there is very little doubt that this portion of the hoard contained no fewer than 60 coins by the moneyer Sæwine of Hamtun, *i.e.* Northampton.

The area of collection of such a hoard would necessarily be somewhat restricted, and if the coins were gathered in and around a mint-town we should expect to find a large proportion of coins of local mintage, together with a smaller proportion of coins of other mints which had drifted into the district in the ordinary way of trade; and the unusually high proportion of Hamtun coins in this hoard, together with a high percentage of coins struck at Stamford—also a Northamptonshire mint—affords important evidence that the Hamtun coins were struck at Northampton and not at Southampton.

A somewhat similar result, but in relation to York, was disclosed by a hoard of coins of William I, C.-B. type II, Hawkins, 234, found at York in 1845. This hoard contained 166 coins, issued from 20 different mints—an average of about 8 coins to each mint, but those of York numbered no fewer than 82.<sup>1</sup> It may also be pointed out that, with the exception of the London coins, this hoard consisted almost entirely of the products of Midland, Eastern and Northern mints, and although Winchester was not represented, "Hamtun" appears upon four specimens—a circumstance which again points to the latter coins having emanated from the Northern and not the Southern Hamtun.

It is also of importance to note that the cessation of the "Hamtun" coins exactly coincides with the commencement of those reading "Norham," and that at least one moneyer used the form "Hamtun" on his coins of Henry I., Andrew, type XIII, Hawkins, 265, and "Norham" on those of the succeeding type, Andrew, XIV, Hawkins, 262.

<sup>1</sup> *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. ii, pp. 106-7.



Mr. Andrew, in *Henry I*, p. 408, refers to the visit of King Henry and his court to Southampton, as recorded in the Pipe Roll for 1129-30, and says: "This was in April, 1130, when he journeyed 'from Woodstock to Clarendon and from Clarendon to Southampton,' thus type 262 (1129-31) is issued at Southampton." Mr. Andrew, however, does not describe any coins of Hawkins, 262, in that relation, nor does he further allude to the question. I have not succeeded in tracing any coins of Hawkins, 262, inscribed Hamtun, nor were any such coins included in the Canterbury hoard; and even if the existence of such coins could be substantiated, unless they were issued by a moneyer other than those who also used the form Norham, it would only go to prove that the definite adoption of the later form did not occur until type 262 was in issue. Nor would the production of such coins be any real evidence in favour of the existence of a mint at Southampton in Norman times. Moreover, it appears extremely unlikely that special dies would be prepared for a temporary coinage to meet the emergency of a visit which was probably of only a few days, possibly of only a few hours,<sup>1</sup> when there was the mint of Winchester in the immediate neighbourhood which was in a position to meet any reasonable demand likely to be made upon it.

In the *British Museum Catalogue of Anglo-Saxon Coins*, vol. ii, p. cxv, it is stated that "from Domesday we learn that it (Southampton) possessed two moneyers." I have, however, failed to verify that statement.

That there was a mint at Southampton in Anglo-Saxon times there can be no doubt, and we should not unreasonably expect to find its coins inscribed Hamtun, etc., but, as we have already seen, the only coins so inscribed that we can definitely allocate must be given, not to Southampton but to Northampton, a mint of which we have no documentary evidence prior to the reign of Henry I.

<sup>1</sup> A notification of about 1114-16, to Ralph de Watneville and others, is on record, attested by Matilda the Queen, William de Tankarville and William de Aubigny, "apud Hamtona, in transitu regis."—*Calendar of Charter Rolls*, iv, 138; Farrer, *An Outline Itinerary of King Henry I*, 1919, p. 79.

In the circumstances it is a difficult matter to attempt to separate the coins of the Northampton mint from those issued at Southampton ; but a key to the solution of the problem appears to be provided by the coins of Eadgar, Eadweard the Martyr and Æthelred II inscribed *Hamwic*, a name by which the ancient site of Southampton appears to have been known from at least the middle of the eighth century down to the reign of Æthelred II, and possibly later.

Symeon of Durham, under date 764, mentions a place *Homwic*, amongst others, as having been damaged by fire : " Anno eodem multæ urbes monasteriaque atque villæ per diversa loca, necnon et regna repentino igne vastatæ sunt, verbi graciâ, Stretburg, Venta Civitas,<sup>1</sup> Homwich,<sup>2</sup> Londonia Civitas, Eboraca Civitas, Donacester, aliique loca illa plaga concussit ut illud impleretur quod scriptum est ' Erit terræ motus.' " Roger of Hoveden, quoting from Symeon, gives the form as *Homunic*, but this is obviously an error of transcription, and should read *Homuuic*. In the *Index Locorum*, vol. iv, p. 218, *Homuuic* is stated to be Southampton, but no evidence of identification is given.

This identification, however, is confirmed by a passage in the *Life or Itinerary of Saint Willebald*, which is said to have been compiled about 780 by an anonymous relative and contemporary, a nun of his sister Walburge's abbey at Heidenheim, who learnt the particulars she relates of the Saint's travels from his own recital.

Willebald, Bishop of Eichstädt, in Franconia, according to his legend, appears to have been of a Wessex family, born about the year 704, and at the age of five to have been placed in the monastery of " Waltheim," now Bishop's Waltham, nine miles from Southampton. About the year 722 he, with his brother Wynebald, or

<sup>1</sup> Roger of Hoveden gives the form " Wenta Civitas."

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Joseph Wright, *Old English Grammar*, 1925, p. 42, says : " In the oldest O.E. *a* was nearly always written *a*, in the ninth century it was mostly written *o*, but in some parts of Mercia it seems to have become *o* which has been preserved in many of the Midland dialects down to the present day." Bede spells the Hampshire river Hamble " Homelea," in place of " Hamelea," as it appears in the *Vita Willebaldi*.

Wunebald, and their father, embarked for the Seine at "Hamel-ea Mutha, near that market-place which is called Hamwich," *juxta illud mercimonium quod dicitur Hambich*.<sup>1</sup>

From *Britannia Sancta*,<sup>2</sup> we learn that St. Willebald was born about the year 704, that he was, when but five years old, recommended to Egbald, Abbot of Waltham, in Hampshire, that he persuaded his father and elder brother Wynebald to join with him in a pilgrimage to Rome, and that in 722 they set out from *Hamblemouth*, or in another passage "Hamble Haven which belonged to the West-Saxons." According to Butler, in his *Lives of the Saints*, St. Willebald "was born about the year 704, in the kingdom of the West-Saxons, about the place where Southampton now stands."

The nun of Heidenheim also wrote a biography of Willebald's brother, Wynebald, Abbot of Heidenheim, and in the parallel passage describes the place where negotiations for the voyage were carried out as "the place of business which is the market-place," *loca venalia quod est mercimonium*, thus confirming the description of the locality given in the *Vita Willebaldi*.

Baring-Gould<sup>3</sup> states that St. Willibald does not appear in Ancient Martyrologies earlier than the twelfth century. The first to mention him is an Utrecht Martyrology of that century. Enumerating the authorities for the life of Willibald, Gould says:—

"First and by far the most precious authority is the *Hodœporicon* or Itinerary of S. Willibald, a contemporary document, written by a nun of Heidenheim, of whose name we are ignorant, but who was his kinswoman and took the account of his travels from his own recital. This life, written before his death, became afterwards the foundation of various other lives, but which contain few or no new facts.

<sup>1</sup> *Acta Sanctorum*, 1867, vol. 29, p. 503; also previously edited by Mabillon. See also Notes by Mr. L. Woosnam in the *Numismatic Chronicle* for 1921, p. 98.

<sup>2</sup> Part 2, pp. 18-19.

<sup>3</sup> *Lives of the Saints*, 1898, vol. vii, pp. 170-1.

" S. Willibald, who is said to have been a kinsman of the great S. Boniface, was, like him, a native of the kingdom of Wessex . . . He was born about the year 700 . . . When he was five years of age his father . . . placed him in a monastery at Waltham . . . under the care of Abbot Egbald . . . His father sold his possessions and went with his family, consisting of Wunibald, his eldest son, then aged twenty, Willibald, and his daughter Walburga . . . to settle in Rome. They left England . . . probably in the year 718, and having taken ship on the southern coast at Hamelea Muth (the mouth of the river Hamble that flows past Waltham), near a port town called Hambich or Hamwich (Southampton), etc." He adds in a footnote: " Hambich is a mistake of the copyist for Hamwich."

Smith and Wace, *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, 1887, say:—

" In the life of his (Willebald's) brother Wunebald, by the same authoress . . . there are unmistakable English local names with which Willebald is connected; but it must be remarked that the geographical names of the *Odæporicon* are frequently much disguised and corrupted . . . At the age of five he was placed in the monastery of Waltham which Mabillon says must mean Buswaltham in agro Wintonensi, *i.e.* Bishop's Waltham in Hampshire. *Circa* 720 . . . he set out accompanied by his brother Wunebald and their father, whose name the nun does not give, but who in later writers is Richard, and even king Richard.

" The travellers started from places bearing English names easy to be identified. They embarked, for instance, at Hamelea Mutha (the Hamble mouth, and the Hamble flows down from the neighbourhood of Bishop's Waltham) near that mercimonium which is called Hambich (evidently Hamwich or Southampton)."

We might be tempted to assume that " Hambich " or " Hamwich " was a disguised or corrupted form, had we not the coins

inscribed "Hamwic," ranging in date from the reign of Eadgar to that of Æthelred II, which prove the contrary.

Baring-Gould's suggestion that *Hambich* is a mistake of the copyist for Hamwich is not necessarily correct. As that author points out, the Itinerary of St. Willebald, written before his death, formed the foundation of other lives of St. Willebald of a later period, and it was probably from one of these later copies that the printed version was taken—possibly from the twelfth-century Martyrology quoted by Baring-Gould.

The *Itinerary* was originally written in Germany, as were most of the later copies, and in the manuscript from which the printed copy was taken the place-names disclose German spelling; for instance, Waltham, that is Bishop's Waltham, Hampshire, is spelt "Waltheim," and if we turn to Dr. Joseph Wright's *Historical German Grammar*, §§ 229, 237, we shall find an explanation of the substitution of *b* for *w* in "Hambich." Dr. Wright says: "Germanic *w* = English *w* in *wet* (generally written uu, uv, vu, vv in Old High German manuscripts) . . . became the labiodental spirant *v* (written *w*) = English *v* in *vat* . . . *w* must have become a spirant in Bavarian before the end of the thirteenth century, because in this dialect *b* (= Germanic *þ*) . . . and *w* had the same value, that is *w* was written for Germanic *w* and *þ* and vice versa"<sup>1</sup> . . . "When *w* was introduced by analogy or levelling into a final position, it became *b* in N.H.G., as M.H.G. "houwen," to *hew*, pl. *hewen*, from which a new pret. sing. *hiew* was formed = N.H.G. *hieb*, cp. also the noun *hieb*, and *wittib* beside *witwe*. This sound-change is also common in modern South and Middle Franconian dialects, as *leb* = literary German *löwe*, and in some Alemannic dialects as *blāb* = literary German *blau*."<sup>2</sup>

For practical purposes High German may be conveniently divided into three periods: Old from about 750 to 1100, Middle from 1100 to 1500, and New from 1500 onwards; but as Dr. Wright observes, "The division of a language into fixed periods must of

<sup>1</sup> Page 119.

<sup>2</sup> Page 122.

necessity be more or less arbitrary. What are given as the characteristics of one period have generally had their beginnings in the previous period, and it is impossible to say with perfect accuracy when one period begins and another ends." Hence, *b* for *w*, which was correct in the thirteenth century, may have gone back to the beginning of the Middle period, say 1100, or even earlier.

I have two coins of the "Hand of Providence" type of Æthelred II, which read +ÆDELPERD M-O HAMPIE, and +ÆDELVEARD M-O HAMVI, respectively, thus showing that V and W = [F], were of equal phonetic value. But the interchangeability of *a* and *o*, and *b* and *v* or *w*, is now so generally accepted by etymologists that I need not further labour the point that *Homwic*, *Hambich* and *Hamvic* are not irregular or corrupted forms of *Hamwic*, but the true spellings we should expect to find in the manuscripts written at the dates and under the conditions of those I have quoted.

Hamelea Mutha is without doubt the mouth of the river Hamble, and it is but a short distance below Southampton. The harbour, as well as the village of Hamble, which is situated upon its bank, and from which it derived its name, were so late as the thirteenth century known as Hamele; and considering the close proximity of Southampton to the Hamble, no other place can be meant by *Hamwich*, as it is highly improbable that another market-town and borough existed in the immediate vicinity<sup>1</sup> so late as the reign of Æthelred II, but which had entirely disappeared by the time of *Domesday*, leaving not even its name behind; a town quite unrecorded and of which all trace is lost.

Had such a town been utterly destroyed by flood or fire and not rebuilt, such a calamity would have been recorded by one or more of the chroniclers, and would in all probability have been preserved in local tradition; but no such tradition can be traced in the neighbourhood of Southampton, and the only reasonable

<sup>1</sup> Since this was written, it has been brought to my notice that an exactly similar opinion is expressed by that eminent authority Dr. Liebermann, in *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen*, 1915, p. 133.



explanation appears to be that Hamwich was also known by another name—a name under which it is recorded in *Domesday*, and by which, with slight modifications, it is known to-day.

Old Southampton, probably owing to its low-lying and unfortified position, appears to have suffered greatly from the onslaught of two foes—the Danes and floods. In the year 838 the Danes, with a fleet of 33 ships, effected a landing near Southampton, but were defeated and driven off by Wulfheard, governor of the southern part of the county under Æthelwulf. In 860 the Danes penetrated the county and burnt Winchester. In 980, we are told, Southampton was again devastated by Danes, very many of its inhabitants being slain or taken captive, *Suthamtonia a Danicis piratis devastatur, et ejus cives omnes fere vel occisi vel captivi sunt abducti*.<sup>1</sup> In the autumn of 994, Anlaf King of Norway and Sweyn King of Denmark landed here with a considerable force, plundered and burnt the town, massacred the inhabitants and committed terrible depredations in the neighbourhood. They were met near Andover by Æthelred and his army, when a truce was arranged by which the army of the two kings, on payment of 16,000 lbs. of silver, and a promise of supplies from all Wessex, returned to Southampton, where they took up their winter quarters; and we learn from Roger of Hoveden and from other sources that the Danes again plundered the town in the years 998, 1001, 1006, 1009 and 1011.

We have records of severe floods at Southampton during the Anglo-Saxon period; for instance, in the year 935 there were heavy floods there in which many of the inhabitants were drowned. Under the year 1014, the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* records that—

“On St. Michael’s mass eve came the great sea-flood widely throughout this country, and ran so far up as it never before had done, and drowned many towns, and of mankind a countless number.”

The South-Hamtun of early Anglo-Saxon times occupied a site in the immediate vicinity of St. Mary’s parish church, some half

<sup>1</sup> Roger of Hoveden; Florence of Worcester.

mile to the north-east of that occupied by the walled town, and nearly the same distance from the river-side, whence its suburbs stretched away towards the river and the site of the Roman *Clausentum*, on the opposite side, though there appears to be no evidence that Old South-Hamtun embraced any portion of the site of the Roman station, nor does there appear to be evidence that the site of *Clausentum* was occupied by a settlement of any kind in Anglo-Saxon days. Discoveries made in St. Mary's parish in 1849 and later years provide ample evidence that it was soon after the date of the great flood of 1014, recorded in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, that the old site of South-Hamtun was abandoned and the town removed to the position which the mediæval portion of Southampton occupies to-day. It is suggested that the old town was involved in the great flood of 1014, possibly entirely destroyed, and that this flood, following so closely upon the disastrous Danish attacks of the previous few years, was the culminating point which caused the inhabitants to decide upon the removal of the town to a better defensive position, in which they would be considerably safer from their old enemies, whether Danes or floods.

Leland, writing in the early part of the sixteenth century, says :

" The old Town of Hampton was brent [burnt] in tyme of Warre, spoyled and rayised by . . . pyrates. This was the cause that the inhabitants there translated themselves to a more commodious place and began with the King's Licens and Help to builde New Hampton, and to walle it yn defence of the Enemies."

The Rev. E. Kell, " Observations on the Ancient Site of Southampton,"<sup>1</sup> says :

" The removal of the town to the south-west of its original site was probably occasioned by the savage invasions of the Danes, who several times ravaged old Southampton with peculiar fury, wasting it with both fire and sword. A fortified town

<sup>1</sup> *Journal of the British Archæological Association*, vol. xiii, pp. 207-10.



would then become necessary, and the inhabitants would select for its site the southern part of the tongue of land on which the fortifications of Southampton stand, from its higher elevation and greater capability of defence."

And in an article "On the Castle and other Ancient Remains at Southampton,"<sup>1</sup> Mr. Kell suggests that the attacks to which they were exposed "must have early led the inhabitants to regard the higher elevation on which the keep and castle are located as a more suitable place of defence against such attacks, and to have looked especially to the site of the keep, as a resort for safety, long before the date of the Conquest."

Leland also says :

"The town of Old-Hampton, a celebrated Thing for Fisshar Men and sum Merchauntes, stooode a quarter of a mile or ther above from New-Hampton by North Est and streached to the Haven syde. The Plott wheryn it stooode berith now good corn and gresse, and is namyid S. Maryfeld by the chirch of S. Mary standing hard by it."

Excavations carried out about ninety years ago on the site indicated by Leland disclosed six or eight intersecting streets, the hard surface of the streets resting on the undisturbed clay. The foundations of many houses were discovered, a considerable variety of antiquities and a number of coins, but none later than the reign of Æthelred II. This probably constituted the business part of the old town, where the houses would be built partly of stone; but of the houses of the poorer people, which were constructed of wood plastered over with clay, all vestiges had perished. The evidence of these discoveries goes to prove the existence of an ancient town to the north and north-east of mediæval Southampton; on the other hand, the absence of such remains within the walls affords negative evidence as to there having been an early settlement on the site of the mediæval town.

<sup>1</sup> *Journal of the British Archæological Association*, vol. xxi, p. 204.

Coins and other small objects of the Roman period have been found in sufficient quantity on the site of old Southampton to warrant us in assuming that a Romano-British settlement existed there contemporaneously with the Roman *Clausentum* on the opposite side of the river, and it is not unreasonable to assume that this settlement had existed from pre-Roman times. In the fifth century the site almost certainly passed into Jutish hands, for in 1849 relics of this period were found at St. Mary's.<sup>1</sup>

On the site of Grove Street, near St. Mary's Church, was discovered an early Saxon cemetery, dating from the sixth century, from the graves of which were recovered a number of objects, including a torque of silvered metal, several glass tumblers, some of which are similar to those figured in Akerman's *Archæological Index*, pl. xiv, figs. 5 and 6; one, found beside a skeleton, is described as "somewhat resembling a cupping-glass"; a green glass vase similar to others found in Jutish graves in Kent; and another resembling one figured in Douglas's *Nenia*. Four sceattas also were found in the graves, including specimens similar to some represented in the *British Museum Catalogue*, vol. i, pl. ii, fig. 7, and pl. iv, fig. 15.

That a populous town existed in the Anglo-Saxon period to the north and north-east of mediæval Southampton, is established beyond a doubt by the discoveries made for the most part in the years 1839, 1849 and onward to 1866. In 1839 a field of about eight acres, in the parish of St. Mary's and lying towards the river, was found to be perforated over all its surface with large pits 6 ft. or 7 ft. in depth, 6 ft. to 10 ft. in diameter, and about 12 ft. apart. Clay had been dug from these pits, probably for the purpose of plastering the walls of the houses in old Southampton, and afterwards filled with kitchen refuse and other rubbish from the town, amongst which were vast quantities of bones of deer, oxen, horses, sheep, pigs, fish and fowl, boars' tusks, oyster shells, etc. Wells also, probably originally made for holding the town's water-supply, were found, and these also had been filled with bones and rubbish.

<sup>1</sup> Reginald A. Smith, *Victoria History of Hampshire*, vol. i, p. 395.

The bones were in such quantities that in 1849 it was estimated that not less than 50 tons had been obtained from the pits. Similar discoveries were made at intervals, during building operations, between 1839 and 1866, and it is probable that many unexplored examples of these refuse pits still exist under the gardens of the houses in and near St. Mary's Road. In addition to these vast quantities of bones the pits contained many fragments of pottery, keys of iron and bronze, pins with ornamented heads, metal spoons, implements of bone, etc., ranging in date from the seventh century down to the latter part of the tenth century ; also numerous coins, including several sceattas, and pennies of Offa, Coenwulf, Burgred, Cuthred, Plegmund, Ceolnoth, Ecbeorht, Æthelbearht, Ælfred, Eadweard the Elder, Æthelstan, Eadmund, Eadred, Eadgar and Æthelred II.<sup>1</sup> The deposits then suddenly cease, and of that cessation the most obvious explanation is that the site of the deposit was, after the early part of the eleventh century, no longer occupied by human habitations, and thus indicates very closely the period of the final evacuation of the site of old Southampton.

Further evidence that the old town occupied the site around St. Mary's is found in the fact that in the early part of the thirteenth century a long enquiry was held, after which it was declared that St. Mary's was the mother church of all the churches in Southampton, and Leland, in his quaint language, says :

“ St. Marie chirch at thys day, in token of the auncientness of Auld Hampton, is mother chirch to all the chirches in New Hampton ; and in testimonie of this the commune sepulture of New Hampton is in the cemiterie of St. Marie church ; and there be many fair tumbes of marble of marchauntes of New Hampton buried in the chirch of S. Marie, as in their mother and principal chirch.”

<sup>1</sup> Roach Smith, *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. iv, p. 58 ; *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, vol. xiii, pp. 207-10 : vol. xvi, p. 333 : vol. xvii, p. 231 : vol. xx, pp. 68-73 : and vol. xxii, p. 455 ; *Victoria History of Hampshire*, vol. i, pp. 395-6 ; Davies' *Southampton*, p. 16 ; Wilks' [Woodward's] *Hampshire*, vol. ii, pp. 235-41.

When the new town sprang up on a new site the old local name Hamwich was entirely superseded by Hamtun. The new town was probably in course of erection in the reign of Canute, and it certainly occupied its present site before the end of the eleventh century.

A similar case to that of Hamwich, occurring in later times, is that of Winchelsea. Old Winchelsea, of Anglo-Saxon and Norman times, occupied a site upon low-lying ground between the present town and the sea. It suffered from frequent inundations, and in 1287 the old town was finally destroyed, when

“The sea passed over her accustomed bounds, flowing twice without ebb . . . At Winchelsea . . . besides cottages for salt, fishermen’s huts, bridges and mills, above 300 houses by the violent rising of the waves were drowned.”<sup>1</sup>

The inhabitants, foreseeing the probability of Winchelsea’s total destruction, petitioned Edward I for ground in order to found another town. The King accordingly allotted 150 acres for the new town, which he surrounded with walls, and the old inhabitants of Winchelsea gradually removed the material from the old town and built the new upon a better defensive site, and far removed from all danger of the aggressive onslaughts of their old enemy—the sea.

A similar grant of land upon which to build the new town appears to have been made by Canute to the inhabitants of Old Southampton, and it is probable that in return for this land and assistance in building the new town, the coining privileges were surrendered to the King, which would account for the closing of the Southampton mint in the early part of the reign of Canute.

Bosworth’s *Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* (ed. T. N. Toller) gives the following definition :—*Wic*. (I) Dwelling place, habitation, residence. (II) A collection of houses, a village, a (small) town, a street. (III) A camp, station. Kemble, in *Codex Diplomaticus*, gives the meaning of *wic* as “A dwelling place of one or more houses,” and adds that

<sup>1</sup> An early MS. account quoted by Grose.

“from this word is derived a verb, *wician*, to take up a station, probably to run ashore at night, applied to a ship.”<sup>1</sup>

*Tun* was originally a plot of land enclosed with a hedge. It came afterwards to signify a dwelling, with the land about it, enclosed by its *tun*, that is, a rampart of earth surmounted with a wooden stockade, the whole surrounded by a ditch; then many dwellings within the enclosure, till it became what we now denominate a town. Thus there would be but little difference between the meaning of Ham-*wic* and Ham-*tun*, the latter name, however, indicating that the place was defended by a stockade and ditch.

It is usual to derive Ham-*tun* from “ham,” *home*, and “*tun*,” *town*—the *home town*, but the writer is inclined to derive the first syllable from a man’s name, *Hama*, thus *Hama’s-tun* and *Hama’s-wic*. In a charter granted by Eadweard the Elder, A.D. 903 (Kemble, MLXXX), Southampton is called “*Haamtun*,” the duplication of the *a* indicating length.<sup>2</sup> It is noteworthy that Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Hist. R. B.*, IV, xiii, declares that Southampton, or *Portus Hamonis*, took its name from a Roman general named *Lewis Hamo*.

The problem of Southampton’s dual nomenclature is, however, a difficult one to solve. That the two names were in use contemporaneously is shown by charters, ranging in date from the first half of the ninth century onwards, wherein Southampton is called Hamtun; and the use of the name Hamwich in *Vita Willebaldi*, etc., and ranging from the eighth century down to the latter part of the tenth century, in the reign of Eadgar, of Eadweard the Martyr and of Æthelred II, when we find Southampton’s coins inscribed HAMWIC, HAMWIE, etc.

Chadwick, *Studies on Anglo-Saxon Institutions*, p. 415, says:—“It is generally supposed that in Wessex before the Danish invasion

<sup>1</sup> We find that one of the significations of the word *wic*, given by Vossius, and also by Du Cange upon the authority of Rhedanus, is *fluminis ostium*, or the entrance of a river, which correctly describes the geographical position of Southampton.

<sup>2</sup> Wright, *Old English Grammar*, §4, says:—“Vowel length was mostly omitted in writing, but in the case of long vowels it was sometimes represented by doubling the vowel.”

the word *burh* denoted only the fortified residence of the king or nobleman within the village," and without doubt the same principle would apply to the less strongly fortified *tun*.

The only suggestion which presents itself to the writer in explanation of Southampton's dual nomenclature is that the early settlement consisted of two portions: (I) the residence of the local magnate—probably a thegn, or other person of importance—fortified by its stockade and ditch, the *tun*, *Hama's-tun*; (II) the village in which resided the great man's followers or retainers, the *wic*, *Hama's-wic*.

The responsible head of this primitive community was the magnate who resided in the *tun*, to whom all official communications would be addressed, and others would be addressed from the *tun*; consequently the settlement was known—officially—only as *Ham-tun*. When the *wic* had increased in size and importance, and had possibly so far extended its boundaries as to completely envelop the *tun*, it still retained its old local name, *Ham-wic*, but in official and legal documents the *tun* still held the dominant position, until—as I have already suggested—the time of the great flood of 1014, when the old town was destroyed. Then, for greater safety from future floods, as well as being a better defensive position, the town was rebuilt upon its present site, and the old local name, *Hamwich*, was abandoned with the old site, and *Hamtun* became the only recognised name for the new town. The old name, however, appears to have clung to the old site, for in the twelfth century the district around St. Mary's was still known as "Wick."<sup>1</sup>

We have an analogous instance in the town of Hull. In Norman, and probably in Anglo-Saxon, times, a village or settlement which occupied some portion of the site of modern Hull was known as Wick, or Wyke, and also as Hull. In the reign of Edward I a new town was built near the old village of Wick, or Hull, and was named Kingston, or Kingston-upon-Hull. In the fourteenth century, in the foundation charter of the Charterhouse, the town is referred to both as Kingston and as Hull. In the seventeenth century Holler

<sup>1</sup> I am indebted to Mr. W. J. Andrew for this important item of information.



engraved a plan of "Kyngeston-upon-Hull," and also a view of "The Towne of Hull" from the Humber. The official name of the town, however—from the time of Edward I onwards—was Kingston-upon-Hull, and to-day, when the comparatively small mediæval borough has been swallowed up by the large town which has sprung up around it, and is universally known by the name of Hull, the town is still known—officially—as Kingston-upon-Hull. In other words, from the twelfth century to the present day the local or common name has been Hull, but from the reign of Edward I to the present time the official designation has been Kingston.

The difference in the wording on Holler's prints appears to indicate that in his time, as it is to-day, the seat of government of the town was "Kingston," while the surrounding district retained the name which it originally derived from the River Hull, upon the banks of which it was established in Anglo-Saxon times.

The difference between Southampton and Hull is that in the former town the official designation ousted the local name, while in the latter the local name has nearly succeeded in superseding the official designation; and two centuries hence it is possible that "Kingston" will have been completely superseded by "Hull," and the old official name will be known only to those who, like ourselves, delight to delve into records of the past.

In reference to the writer's suggestion that the name Hamwic was applied to the unfortified portion of old Southampton, it may be pointed out that Northampton, in later times, provided a parallel case.

At Swardsley, or Showesley, seven miles S.S.W. from Northampton, was a small Priory of Cistercian nuns, established in the reign of Henry II. In 1459 the revenues of that Priory had become so impoverished as to be inadequate to the maintenance of the establishment and repairs of the house, and the Bishop of Lincoln, at the petition of Sir Thomas Grene, patron of the Priory of Swardsley, appropriated that Priory to the Abbey of St. Mary de la Pré, immediately south of Northampton.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Bishop Chedworth's *Memoranda*, fol. 53, dorse.

Tanner, *Notitia Monastica*, sub "Sewardsley," gives an account of the possessions of that Priory, which shows that the Northamptonshire possessions all lay to the south or south-west of Northampton, and Tanner's references show that in 1273, the Priory had holdings "in Cotes et Hamwik,"<sup>1</sup> which appears to indicate that "Cotes" or Coton, and "Hamwik" were in immediate proximity to each other.

The only recorded Northamptonshire Coton to which Tanner's note can refer is Coton, or Coton End, a hamlet situated immediately south of Northampton and separated from it only by the River Nene.

The Abbey of St. Mary de la Pré was situated a quarter of a mile south of the River Nene, the hamlet of Coton intervening between the Abbey and the river, and for nearly a quarter of a mile northward, between the Nene and the south gate of Northampton, lay a suburb afterwards known as the South Quarter. There can be little doubt that it was this suburb, without the walls and adjoining Coton, that was, in the thirteenth century, known as "Hamwik."

In Coton, about midway between the Nene and the Abbey of St. Mary de la Pré, and on the east side of the London Road, was situated the hospital of St. Leonard for lepers, and in a survey of the demesne lands of the Abbey of St. Mary de la Pré, made in June, 1539,<sup>2</sup> we find it recorded that "John Green occupyeth at will from yere to yere one close of pasture by sent leonards, and payeth by yere V<sup>s</sup>." This John Green was a descendant of Sir Thomas Grene, patron of Sewardsley, at whose petition, in 1459, the Priory of Sewardsley, with its possessions, was appropriated to St. Mary de la Pré, and it appears highly probable that the "close of pasture by sent leonards" constituted a part of the former holding of Sewardsley Priory, and that it had continued in the hands of members of the Green family.

Mr. L. Woosnam, in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1921 and 1922, suggests that "as independent words, *wic* and *tun* were often used synonymously, and it is reasonable to suppose that they might also

<sup>1</sup> See also *Monasticon*, vol. v, p. 729.

<sup>2</sup> The Abbey was surrendered into the King's hands in December, 1538.



be interchangeable as components of a compound place-name." In support of that suggestion a number of analogous passages may be cited from the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (see below).

There was evidently a great deal of confusion in the designation of towns. Many places, indeed, may have once been called by the name of *wic* which afterwards assumed a much more dignified appellation, together with a much more important social condition. A similar confusion appears to have been common in the designation of local officials, and Kemble, *Saxons in England*, vol. ii, pp. 175-6, speaking of the office of *wicgerefa*, says:—"There is so much difficulty in making a clear distinction between Port and Wic, that we find *wicgerefa* applied to the officers who ruled in large and royal cities." For instance, in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, annal 897, we read of the *wicgerefa* at Winchester ("Beornulf *wicgerefa* on Wintan-ceastre"). *Burhgerefa*, *portgerefa*, *tungerefa*, or *wicgerefa*, all appear to denote one officer—the "præpositus civitatis"—irrespective of the status of the town or city in which the official ruled.

The strict meaning of *burh* appears to be *fortified place* or *stronghold*; it can therefore be applied to a single house or castle, or to a fortified mound, as well as to a town. *Port* strictly means an enclosed place for sale and purchase, a market, but it is commonly used to designate a market-town. *Ceaster* seems universally derived from *Castrum*, and denotes a place where there has been a Roman station. The meaning of *tun* and *wic* have previously been explained (pp. 24-25).

Now every one of these conditions may occur in one single place, and we accordingly find much looseness in the use of the terms: thus, in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, we find London designated *Lundenwic*, *-burh*, *-byrig*, etc. :—

Annal 457. "mid micle ege flugon to Lundenbyrg."

Annal 604. "Æðelberht gesealde Mellite biscop setl on Lundewic."

Annal 851. "þy ilcan geare cuom feorðe healf hund scipa on Temese mupan ond bræcon Contwaraburg ond Lundenburg."

Annal 886. "þy ilcan geare gesette Ælfred cyning Lundenburg."

York is generally called Eoferwic, but in 971, and again in 1050, we find it designated Eoferwicceastre. There appears to have been some doubt as to whether it was a *port* or a *burh*, for in 1068 (Cotton manuscript, Tiber., B. iv) we find a reference to the "burhmenn" of Eoferwic, and in a parallel passage in "Bodleian manuscript, Laud 636," they are styled "portmen."

A similar doubt appears to have existed in connection with Hereford, as is shown by the following passages:—

Annal 1055. "Rapulf eorl gaderade mycele fyrde agean to Hereford port" (Cotton manuscript, Tiber., B. i).

Annal 1056. "his lic lið on Herefordport" (Cotton manuscript, Tiber., B. i).

Annal 1055. "ealle þa burh Hereford" (Bodleian manuscript, Laud 636).

The coins issued from the two mints under consideration may be divided into three groups—(a) the "Ham tun" coins, which I allocate to Northampton; (b) those inscribed "Hamwic," which I assign to Southampton; and (c) those reading "HA" and "HAM," some of which, by comparison of the moneyer's names, may be allocated to group (a) or (b); while the remainder, owing to the absence of more extended readings, cannot be definitely assigned to either group, but probably the majority should be allocated to Northampton.

It is improbable that Southampton ever exceeded the two moneyers allotted to it in the reign of Æthelstan. Even in the reign of Æthelred II, when so many additional moneyers were employed, the "Hamwic" coins disclose the fact that only two moneyers were working there at one time. The names of only five moneyers appear on the coins of the "Hamwic" group, viz. Æthelman, Æthelweard, Landbriht, Isegel and Godman; and the only types upon which this full mint-name occurs are the "Hand," the "Benediction" and the "Crux" types of Æthelred II.

The original moneyers in the earlier "Hand" type (Hildebrand, B. i) appear to have been Æthelman and Æthelweard; Æthelman

dropped out and his place was taken by Isegel,<sup>1</sup> who, together with Æthelweard, continued to issue type Hildebrand, B. 1; Æthelweard continued into the later "Hand" type (Hildebrand, B. 2), as did probably Isegel, who issued coins of the "Benediction" type, as did probably Æthelweard; Æthelweard then disappeared and was succeeded by Godman, who, together with Isegel, issued the "Crux" type (Hildebrand, C). It is of interest to note that exactly at this time, when the "Hamwic" coins cease, a moneyer, Godman, commences to work at Winchester, where he issued coins in types Hildebrand, C. b, E, D, and A (Hawkins, 204, 203, 207, and 205).

In the sale catalogue of the Wilcox collection (Glendinning, January 29, 1908, lot 28), a "Crux"-type penny of Æthelred II is described as reading GODMAN MO HAMT, a reading which, if it could be verified, would upset my theory that all "Hamtune" coins emanated from Northampton mint; the coin in question, however, is in my possession, and the actual reading is GODMAN M-O HAMPI.

The great increase in the number of moneyers in the reigns of Eadgar, Eadweard the Martyr, and the early years of Æthelred II probably gave rise to abuses, and in the latter reign, by the *Instituta Londoniæ*, their numbers were restricted to three moneyers in each principal city, burh, or market-town, and one moneyer in each other burh.<sup>2</sup>

Northampton, as the only important town in the shire, would be entitled to three moneyers, but in Hampshire, Southampton, holding a position subordinate to that of Winchester, would be entitled to one moneyer only, subsequently to the making of Æthelred's law.

<sup>1</sup> This moneyer's name was probably Degel, older Degil, Dægil, and not "Isegel," as it appears upon the coins. A scribal variety of majuscule D was formed thus—[S], and if, in script character, the lower part of a D of this form were not completely closed it would probably be taken to represent "IS," hence the die-sinker's error. The name Dægil, or Degel, occurs in "Dægles-ford," the Anglo-Saxon form of Daylesford, Worcestershire, and is to be found in several charters recorded in *Codex Diplomaticus*, cp. No. DCXXIII.

<sup>2</sup> "Et ut monetarii pauciores sint quam antea fuerint; in omni summo portu iii, et in omni alio portu sit unus monetarius."—Thorpe, *Ancient Laws and Institutes*.

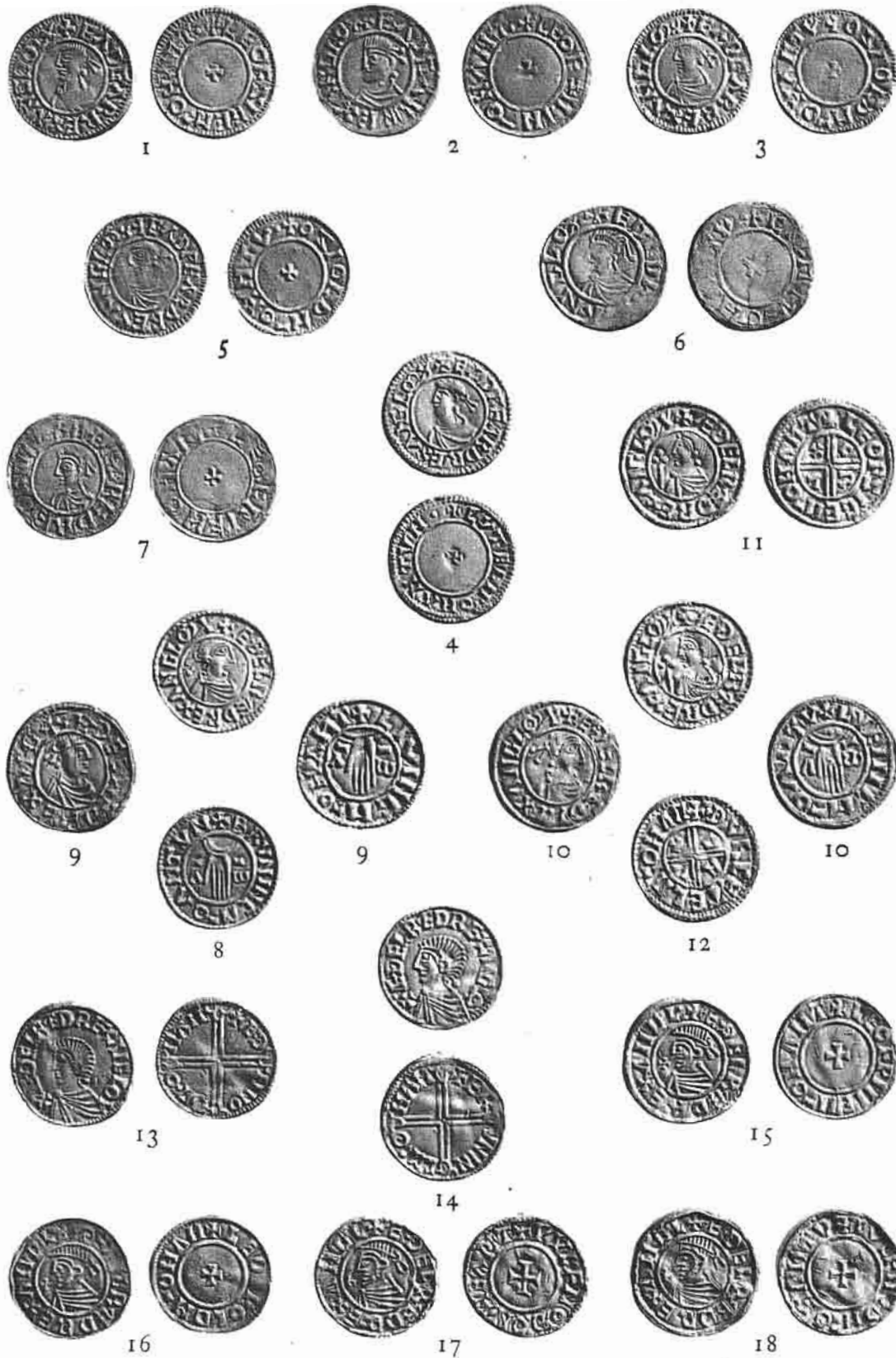
The approximate date of Æthelred's law cannot be determined, but probably about the middle of the reign, and a careful examination of such coins of Æthelred, of types later than the "Crux" type, and of those of Canute's first type (Hawkins, 212), as can be tentatively assigned to Southampton, suggests the probability that only one moneyer was working there, while the coins which can be allocated to Northampton show that three moneyers were working there at one time.

That there was a close connection between the Winchester mint and that at Southampton is highly probable, and a comparison of the names of the moneyers working at the former mint with those appearing upon the "Hamton" coins appears to suggest the possibility that although "Hamwic" was the recognised numismatic form for Southampton in the reign of Æthelred II, and that HA and HAM on coins issued at Southampton in this reign, as well as in earlier reigns, was intended for an abbreviation of that form, it is possible that in one instance the form "Hamton" was used in error by a Southampton moneyer.

Hildebrand records two coins of Æthelred II, type A, reading  $\Sigma EOLCA ON HAMTV$ , and  $\Sigma EOLCA ON HEAMTV$ , respectively. He also records Winchester coins of Æthelred II, type A, and of Canute, type E, by a moneyer of the same name, and these appear to be the only recorded coins issued at any time during the Anglo-Saxon and Norman periods by a moneyer bearing that unusual name, and thus we may be tempted to assume that the issuer of the Winchester coins was identical with the Hamton moneyer; that Hamton in this instance was Southampton, and that Seolca was transferred from Southampton to Winchester during the period of issue of Hildebrand, type A.

There are, however, in addition to the reasons already adduced for allocating to Northampton the whole of the Hamton group, sound dialectal reasons for assigning to that mint the coins by the moneyers Seolca, Æthelsige, and Wulfnoth, upon some of whose coins of the reign of Æthelred II we find the form HEAMTV(N), which is a purely Mercian form of the West-Saxon Hamton.





COINS OF THE NORTHAMPTON MINT

The Cotton manuscript, *Vespasianus B. XXIV*, contains the register of the charters of the Abbey of Evesham, and below are given extracts from four charters which relate to land in a Warwickshire Hamtun, and in which we find the Mercian dialect form "Heamtune":—

1. Folio 25.—

A charter of King Æthelred, dated March 23, 988, "Ideo ego Æðelredus totius Albionis basileus aliquam telluris partem iuris mei fideli ministro meo Norðmanno cum consensu meorum fidelium satrapum libens condonabo, id est, v. manentium *in loco illo ubi ab incolis habitantibus Heamtun nominatur.*" The boundaries run "Istis itaque terminis: Ðys sind ða londegemaere to Hamtune."

2. Folio 26.—

King Eadweard the Confessor refers to a donation that Earl Leofric had made of "*illam terram de Heamtun in monasterio de Eouesham.*"

3. Folio 26.—

Earl Leofric refers to a gift of his brother Normannus of "*terram quæ uocatur Heamtun ad monasterium de Euesham.*"

4. Folio 27.—

Bishop Lifting speaks of himself and says "Testem me esse quod Eadweardus rex consensit donationi illius terræ ad *Heamtune* quam comes Leofricus principali monasterio Eoueshamio concessit."

These charters are printed in Kemble's *Codex Diplomaticus* (DCLXII, vol. 3, p. 234; DCCCCXI, vol. 4, p. 249; DCCCCXXXVIII, vol. 4, p. 272; DCCCCXLI, vol. 4, p. 277), but they are not printed in Birch's *Cartularium Saxonicum*. The form "Heantun," as it appears in the *Index*, is a substitution made by Kemble, and has no actual existence in the Evesham Cartulary.



The earliest of the above-quoted charters is of considerable value as evidence in connection with the question under consideration, for it not only presents the normal West-Saxon form Hamtun, but it also tells us quite plainly that "Heamtun" was the way the country-folk dwelling at Hamtun pronounced the name of their town.

It is obvious that we have here to do with a question of dialect, and if we turn to Dr. Joseph Wright's *Old English Grammar* (1914 edition), sec. 78, we shall find the explanation we need: "In Mercian, *a* becomes *ea* before single consonants by *u*- and *o/a*-umlaut." The difference in spelling and pronunciation of the West-Saxon "Hamtun" and the Mercian "Heamtun" is the result of umlaut, or vowel infection. As Dr. Wright explains (sec. 48): "Guttural umlaut is the modification of an accented vowel (*a*, *e*, *i*), through the influence of a primitive Old English guttural vowel (*u*, *ō*, *a*) in the next syllable, whereby a guttural glide was developed after the vowels *a*, *e*, *i*, which then combined with them to form the diphthongs *ea*, *eo*, *io* . . . When the vowel which caused umlaut was *u*, it is called *u*-umlaut, and when *ō* or *a*, it is called *o/a*-umlaut; *u*- and *o/a* umlaut of *a* only took place in Mercian, as *featu*, *vats*; *heafuc*, *hawk*; *steapul*, *pillar*; *ealu*, *ale*; *heafola*, *head*; *fearan*, *to go, travel*; *feata*, *of vats*; *geata*, *of gates*; *gleadian*, *to rejoice*; *hleadan*, *to load*; *leatian*, *to be slow*." The West Saxon forms are *fatu*, *hafuc*, *stapol*, *alu*, *hafola*, *faran*, *fata*, *gata*, *gladian*, *hladen*, *latian*. Hence, Heamtun is the Mercian form of the West Saxon Hamtun, and if we assume that the vowel *a* has dropped out between *m* and *t*, the dialectal form is readily explicable.

"Heam" exhibits the Mercian breaking of *a* when followed by an *a* in the next syllable. Hence "Heam" postulates *Heama*, and that in composition indicates the earlier possessive form *Heaman*. In the Mercian dialect the *n* of the possessive dropped out just as it did from the Alemannic possessive of weak nouns in *o*. For instance, *Porto*: *Portin*; cp. *Portitun*, now *Portington*. Also *Canso*: *Censin*; cp. *Chenesitun*, now *Kensington*. Hence "Heamtun" of the tenth and eleventh centuries postulates the following

sequence of dialectal changes: \*Hāmantún, \*Hǣmantún, Heamatun, "Heamtún."<sup>1</sup>

Hildebrand describes a coin of Harthacnut, which reads ÆLFPINE ON HÆMTV. This form appears to present a dialectal difficulty, but if we turn to Bosworth's *Elements of Anglo-Saxon Grammar*, we find that "The Anglo-Saxon writers often confounded some letters, and used them indifferently for each other. This is the case to a most surprising extent with the vowels and diphthongs." He also points out that in Dano-Saxon æ is commonly used for ea. Thus "Hæmtún" is the Dano-Saxon form of the Mercian "Heamtún," and a Danish cuneator, having before him the script copy "Heamtún," would probably render it "Hæmtún."

The Mercian ea was pronounced yā; thus "Heamtún" was pronounced Hyāmtún, and in the neighbourhood of Banbury may still be heard an old rhyme which runs—

"Aynho on the hill,  
Clifton in the clay,  
Drunken Deddington,  
And Yām highway."

Aynho is in Northamptonshire, and Deddington, with its hamlets Clifton and Hampton, or Hempton, is in Oxfordshire. The "Yām" of the rhyme is Hampton, and thus preserves the Mercian pronunciation of the eleventh century. This rhyme probably dates from the time when the Mercian dialect was commonly spoken in the district, and Hampton was Yāmtún. This pronunciation is preserved in other place-names—for instance, Yarnton, Oxfordshire, was originally

<sup>1</sup> In the days of Æthelred II, the name of Havant in Hampshire was "Hamanfunta," the spring of Hama. This is about twenty miles to the east of Southampton, or "Portus Hamonis." Near the church of Havant is a spring called "Homewell," and this name presents the modern form of Hāmanweyll, with long o for long a, according to rule. Cp. Charter of Æthelstan, A.D. 935 (Birch, *Carl. Sax.*, No. 707; Kemble, *Cod. Dip.*, No. 1111), and of Æthelred II, A.D. 980 (Kemble, *Cod. Dip.*, No. 624), where Havant, Hampshire, is described as "Hamanfuntan," "Hamanfunta," and "Hamafuntan."

Eardington, and in post-Saxon times Yardington and Yarnington; and Yardley, Worcestershire, was, in the tenth century, Eardleah.<sup>1</sup>

The Mercian form Heamtun also occurs as the name of other Hamptons in Worcestershire, Warwickshire, Gloucestershire, Oxfordshire and in other parts of Mercia; we also find Heamtunninga as the name of Hampton Gay, Oxfordshire (Kemble, *Codex Diplomaticus*; Birch, *Cartularium Saxonicum*).

That coins inscribed "Hamtun" emanated from the same mint, and were struck by the same moneyer as those inscribed "Heamtun," is proved by two pennies of Æthelred II, type Hildebrand, A (Hawkins, 205) in the writer's possession. The two coins were struck from the same obverse die, but one reverse is inscribed PVLFNOD M-O HAM, and the other reads PVLFNOD ON HEAMT; and a careful comparison of two coins of the same type, by the moneyer Seolca, described by Hildebrand (Nos. 1270 and 1271), and reading SEOLCA ON HAMTV and SEOLCA ON HEAMTV, respectively, would probably disclose a corresponding result.

That the reverse dies were inscribed according to the instructions of the person under whose immediate jurisdiction the mint came is shown by a writ dated November 17, 1338, in which John de Flete is commanded to make certain dies at the expense of the Abbot of Reading for the making of money at Reading, "with such impression and circumscription as the Abbot should appoint" ("facienda de impressione et circumscriptione quas dictus abbas vobis declarabit").<sup>2</sup> And in the Close Roll, under date December 4, 1338, it is recorded that the king had caused such dies "of impression and circumscription declared by them" (the Abbot and monks) to be made, etc.

In Anglo-Saxon times the local mints appear to have been under the immediate jurisdiction of the Burhgerefa, or Borough Reeve, for in the Laws of Æthelred II, and of Canute, it is provided that if any moneyer accused of false coining pleaded that the false money

<sup>1</sup> Grant by Bishop Oswald, with the consent of King Eadgar, and Ælfhere, Ealdorman of Mercia, A.D. 963.—Kemble, *Codex Diplomaticus*, No. 405.

<sup>2</sup> *Harleian MS.*, 1708, fol. 44; *Monasticon*, vol. iv, pp. 34, 46.

had been made by permission of the Reeve, that officer was to undergo the triple ordeal, and, if guilty, to suffer the same penalty as a guilty moneyer.<sup>1</sup> The Reeve of Northampton would issue his own written instructions to the cuneator for such reverse legends as he desired upon his dies, and he, being a local man—a Mercian—it is reasonable to assume that such instructions would, occasionally at least, be written in the Mercian dialect; hence the form “Heamtún” upon the coins.

The rulers of the great Anglo-Saxon ealdormanries were to all intents and purposes petty princes. Æthelstan, Ealdorman of East Anglia, was called “semi-rex” or “half-king,” and Æthelred, Ealdorman of Mercia, appears to have enjoyed the power, and sometimes even the title, of an under-king. Florence of Worcester calls him “subregulus.” In an undated charter recorded by Kemble,<sup>2</sup> Æthelred is described as “ealdorman,” and in a charter of the year 884<sup>3</sup> he describes himself as “Principatu et dominio gentis Merciorum subfultus”—“gentis Merciorum ducatum gubernans.”

Of Ulfcytel, the thegn or ealdorman of East Anglia, Green says: “His position seems to have been one of as great independence as that of the earlier ealdormen. The Danes knew the land as ‘Ulfcytel’s land,’ and now that Swein appeared off the coast the thegn and his Witan made their own treaties and fought their own fights as if East Anglia were again a separate kingdom. The Witan saw at first no course left save to buy off the invaders . . . Ulfcytel summoned the fyrd in haste,” etc.<sup>4</sup> This convention of the Witan by Ulfcytel for the purpose of discussing terms of peace with the Danish king Swein, as recorded in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, under the year 1004, was little short of a regal act.

The ealdormen, in fact, retained many royal prerogatives, which doubtless included that of the control of the coinage within their own government, and we know that the Ealdorman Æthelred of

<sup>1</sup> Thorpe, *Ancient Laws and Institutes*.

<sup>2</sup> *Codex Diplomaticus*, No. 1075.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 1066.

<sup>4</sup> *Conquest of England*, p. 397.

Mercia issued a coinage upon which he placed his own name in the position usually occupied by that of the King.<sup>1</sup>

In the reign of Æthelred II the most powerful of the ealdormen was the ambitious and unscrupulous Eadric, who was always the second man in the country, let who might be first, and there can be little doubt that Eadric would jealously guard his prerogatives, including that of control of the coinage issued in his ealdormanry of Mercia.

The control of the coinage being vested in the ealdormen governing the various provinces, it is fair to assume that in a general way the activities of the moneyers, from generation to generation, although they would probably move from town to town, would be confined to their own province, and that fact must be taken into consideration in our endeavour to correctly allocate certain of the coins under consideration.

As previously stated, we have coins of the reign of Æthelred II by several moneyers which fail to exhibit readings more extended than HAM, an abbreviation which would serve equally well for either Hamtun or Hamwic.

In the reign of Æthelred II the moneyers whose coins fail to exhibit readings more extended than HAM are Leofric (the early variety of Hildebrand, A, Hawkins, 205); Thurcytel (Hildebrand, C); Ælfget (Hildebrand, E, Hawkins, 203); Ulfni, Æthelnoth, Edmund, Leofgod, Manei (=Manet), and Spileman or Swileman (Hildebrand D, Hawkins, 207).

With regard to the moneyer VLFNI, apart from the above-mentioned coin the name appears to be quite unknown, and unrecorded in the recognised works of reference. It is evidently an abbreviated form of VLFNOÐ (=PVLFNOD), the "o" having been omitted and the "i" representing an incomplete "Ð," and I assign it, with other coins by Wulfnoth, to the Hamtun or Northampton series.

The name Thurcytel does not appear upon coins issued in the reigns of Eadgar and Eadweard the Martyr. In the reign of Æthelred II

<sup>1</sup> *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. viii, pp. 55-9.

a moneyer, or moneyers, of that name issued coins at Lincoln and Torksey; in the reign of Canute, at London, Lincoln and Torksey; in the reign of Harold I, at Stamford; and in the reigns of Harthacanute and Eadweard the Confessor, at London. The name *Ælfget*, as that of a moneyer, appears first in the reign of *Æthelred II*, and is to be found on coins issued at Hereford, London and Stamford; in the reign of Canute, at London; and in the reigns of Eadweard the Confessor and Harold II, at Lincoln. The name *Æthelnoth* is found on coins of *Æthelstan*, issued at Derby and Nottingham; on those of Eadred it appears, unaccompanied by that of a mint-town; it does not appear upon coins of either Eadgar or Eadweard the Martyr, but reappears, at Lincoln, in the reign of *Æthelred II* and of Canute, and at Chester (or Leicester) in the reign of *Æthelred II*.

Derby, Chester, Hereford, Leicester, Lincoln, Torksey, London, Nottingham and Stamford were all situated within the boundaries of the Mercian ealdormanry—a fact which, together with the total absence of coins of Wessex mints by the moneyers *Thurcytel*, *Ælfget* and *Æthelnoth*, appears to be evidence sufficiently strong to warrant us in allocating to Northampton the coins inscribed *HAM*, and issued by those three moneyers.

In the reign of *Æthelstan* the name *Edmund* appears upon coins issued at Chester and Shrewsbury; of the reigns of Eadmund and Eadred we have coins by the moneyer *Edmund*, but without mint-name; of the reign of Eadwig we have coins by *Edmund* issued at York; of the reign of Eadgar, at Chester; of Eadweard the Martyr none are recorded; of *Æthelred II*, at Cambridge, Colchester, Lincoln, London and Norwich; of Canute, at London and Norwich; and of Eadweard the Confessor, at London. All the mints, with the exception of York, are situated in Mercia, or in the eastern counties, and, as before, none in Wessex. Again the evidence appears to warrant us in allocating to Northampton the coins by the moneyer *Edmund*.

By the moneyer *Leofric* we have coins of the reigns of Eadmund, Eadred and Eadgar, but without mint-name; of the reign of



Æthelred II we have coins issued at Canterbury, Dover, Exeter, Lymne, Ilchester, Rochester, Wallingford, Huntingdon, Lincoln, London, Tamworth, Ipswich, Norwich, Thetford and "Ham"; of the reign of Canute, at Canterbury, Chichester, Buckingham, Hertford, Lincoln, London, Southwark, Stamford, Dunwich, Ipswich, Norwich and Thetford; of the reign of Harold I, at Chichester, Lincoln, London, Southwark and Stamford; of Harthacnut, at Canterbury and York; of Eadweard the Confessor, at Romney, Huntingdon, Leicester, London, Hamtun, Stamford, Warwick, Worcester, Norwich and Thetford; of Harold II, at Worcester; of William I, at Dorchester, Dover, Leicester, London, Stamford, Warwick and Worcester; of William II, at Dover and Warwick; of Henry I, at Lincoln; and of Stephen, at Warwick. Of these 27 mints, 16 are Mercian and East Anglian, 6 are in Kent and Sussex, and only 4 in Wessex, none being in either Hampshire or Wiltshire. The evidence of the mints appears to leave little doubt that the "Ham" coins struck by Leofric should be assigned to the Mercian Hamtun.

By the moneyer Leofgod the only recorded coins are of the reign of Æthelred II, and were issued at Worcester and Cricklade. Worcester was in Mercia, and Cricklade but a short distance over the Mercian border, in Wessex. In this instance the evidence is insufficient to warrant us in definitely allocating the "Ham" coins to Northampton or to Southampton.

By the moneyer Manei, or Manet, no coins of the late Anglo-Saxon kings are recorded in the lists of moneyers given in the recognised works of reference, and the only specimen with which I am acquainted is of type Hawkins, 207, and is in my possession. The reverse is inscribed  $M\Lambda NEI M^{\alpha}O \Lambda M\ddagger$ .<sup>1</sup> The contracted form  $\Lambda M$  is unusual, the only other instances of the omission of the initial H, upon coins of the reign of Æthelred II, issued from either of the

<sup>1</sup> Since this was written I have ascertained that a penny of the reign of Eadgar, with the reverse inscribed **MANNET MO**, appeared in the Douglas find. See *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1913, p. 334.



mints under consideration, that have come under my notice, being three which I assign to Northampton. One of these coins is by the moneyer Lifing, and is recorded by Hildebrand; another, also recorded by Hildebrand, is by the moneyer Wulfnoth, and the third is by the moneyer Bryning, and is in my possession. Two of these coins are inscribed  $\Lambda M T V N$ , and the third is inscribed  $\Lambda M T V$ , which suggests that the coin by Manet also was issued at Northampton.

Maneta appears in the list of moneyers of the reign of Eadmund, given in the *British Museum Catalogue*, but no mint is indicated, nor does the National Collection include a coin by that moneyer.

In addition to the above-mentioned coins of Æthelred II, we have others of Æthelstan, inscribed  $\Lambda M T V N$ , and of William I, by the moneyers Sæwine and Swetman inscribed  $\Lambda M T$ ,  $\Lambda M T$  and  $\Lambda M T V$ , all of which I assign to Northampton.

With regard to the moneyer Spileman, or Swileman, there appears to be sufficient evidence to warrant us in allocating his coins to Southampton, as Winchester was the only other mint from which his coins appear to have been issued. Spileman issued coins at Southampton in type Hildebrand, D (Hawkins, 207), and at Winchester in types Hildebrand, E and A (Hawkins, 203 and 205), and continued there during the reigns of Canute, Harold I and Eadweard the Confessor.

In the list of moneyers of Æthelred II, given in the *British Museum Catalogue*, appears the name Brihtnoth, as a Hamtun moneyer. The present writer has no information as to the type, or types, upon which this moneyer's name appears, nor of the reverse readings of his coins. Probably his mint-form does not extend beyond HAM, and his coins were issued at Southampton, for, in addition, in the reign of Æthelred II, the name Brihtnoth appears upon coins issued at Winchester, London and York; in the reign of Canute, at Winchester, Chichester, Malmesbury, Hastings, London, Thetford and York; and in the reigns of Eadweard the Confessor and Harold II, at Gloucester.

Probably Brihtnoth was first employed at Southampton in the

reign of Æthelred II, and subsequently transferred to Winchester, where he continued to work in the same or a later type, and thence into the reign of Canute, as did Spileman.

The coins of Æthelred II, generally known as the *Agnus Dei* type (Hildebrand, G, Hawkins, type 7), add further evidence of the correctness of the writer's allocation of the Hamtun coins to Northampton. Coins of the *Agnus Dei* type are known of Derby, Hereford, Nottingham, Stafford, Stamford, "Hamtun" and Malmesbury. The first five mints were situated in the ealdormanry of Mercia, and, apart from other evidence, it appears to be a fair assumption that the Hamtun mint also was situated in Mercia; and the fact that, with one exception, all the known coins of this type emanated from Mercian mints, suggests that the whole issue was confined to that province. The only recorded complete Hamtun coin of this type was issued by the moneyer Wulfnoth, who, as we have previously seen, was one of those moneyers who used the Mercian dialect form Heamtun upon certain of their coins.

Green,<sup>1</sup> referring to the ealdormanry of Mercia in the reign of Eadwig, says: "In extent, in population, in wealth, the Mercian ealdormanry, stretching as it did from Bristol to Manchester and from the Watling Street to Offa's Dyke, was little inferior to the region south of the Thames which was left to the king," etc. Freeman<sup>2</sup> says: "When as in the fourfold division made by Canute, Wessex, Northumberland, East Anglia and Mercia are spoken of as an exhaustive division of England, there can be no doubt that Mercia is taken in the widest sense, meaning the whole land from Bristol on the Avon to Barton on the Humber." This reputed division of England by Canute was, however, merely a recognition of accepted facts, and Eadric's ealdormanry extended as far westward as Bristol long before 1017.

Malmesbury being situated near the border of Gloucestershire, and several miles north-east of Bristol, would thus be upon the

<sup>1</sup> *Conquest of England*, p. 310.

<sup>2</sup> *Norman Conquest*, vol. ii, p. 557.

threshold of the ealdormanry of Mercia; and as the *Agnus Dei* coins were evidently issued but a short time before the defection of Eadric, in 1015, when Hampshire and the southern portion of Wiltshire was held by Canute, and the northern portion of Wiltshire, including Malmesbury, was held by Eadric for Æthelred, and was thus temporarily in the ealdormanry of Mercia, it is reasonable to assume that Eadric would exercise his privilege of issuing coins at Malmesbury.

Be that as it may, there can be little doubt that about the time when the *Agnus Dei* coins were issued, Æthelred was in possession of Northampton and not of Southampton, which is, I submit, conclusive evidence that the Hamtun coins of this type were issued at Northampton and not at Southampton.

It is difficult to accurately define the exact boundary of any ealdorman's territory at a time like this when their spheres of influence fluctuated so often.

The moneyers of Æthelred II, upon whose coins the mint-form extends to HAMT, HAMTV, HAMTVN and HAMTVNE, and in some cases the Mercian HEAM, HEAMT and HEAMTV, are Æthelsige, Bruning, Boia, Cylm, Leofsige, Leofstan, Leofwine, Leofwold, Lifing, Seolca, Wulfnoth and Wulfric. Coins struck by these moneyers I assign to Northampton. Some of the foregoing names occur principally upon coins issued from Mercian or East Anglian mints, and are of service in allocating the Hamtun coins, but others of these names are very common and occur upon coins struck at mints situated in all parts of England, from York to Exeter and from Norwich to Chester, thus rendering them practically useless for deductive purposes in assigning coins of the Hamtun series. For reference purposes I append a schedule of moneyers, kings, and mints illustrating the foregoing remarks:—

ÆTHELSIGE :

<i>Eadgar</i>	..	..	London and Bath.
<i>Æthelred II</i>	..	..	Hamtun, London, Bath and Cricklade.
<i>Harthacanute</i>	..	..	Chester and Gloucester.

## BRUNING :

<i>Æthelred II</i>	..	..	Hamton.
<i>Canute</i>	..	..	London, Nottingham, York, Bath and Malmesbury.
<i>Eadweard the Confessor</i>			Chester, Lincoln, London, Tamworth and Ipswich.

## BOIA :

<i>Æthelstan</i>	..	..	Chester and Derby.
<i>Eadwig</i>	..	..	Hamton and Bedford.
<i>Eadgar</i>	..	..	Chester, Derby, Stamford, Canterbury and Wilton.
<i>Eadweard the Martyr</i>	..		Chester, London, Stamford and Canterbury.
<i>Æthelred II</i>	..	..	Hamton, Chester, Hereford, Hertford, Lincoln, London, Southwark, Stamford, Thetford, Canterbury and Wilton.

## CYLM :

<i>Eadgar, Eadweard the Martyr and Æthelred II</i>	..	..	..	Hamton.
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## LEOFSIGE :

<i>Eadgar</i>	..	..	..	Hamton, Oxford and Wilton.
<i>Æthelred II</i>	..	..		Hamton, Gloucester, Shrewsbury, Cambridge, Ipswich and Ilchester.
<i>Canute</i>	..	..	..	Bedford, Chester, Gloucester, Lincoln, London, Southwark, Stamford, Cambridge, Ipswich, Norwich, Thetford, Bath and Ilchester.
<i>Eadweard the Confessor</i>				London and Nottingham.

LEOFSTAN :

<i>Æthelred II</i>	..	..	Hamton, Aylesbury, Hertford, London, Southwark, Colchester, Ipswich, Norwich, York, Canterbury, Romney and Lewes.
<i>Canute</i>	..	..	London, Shrewsbury, Worcester, Ipswich, Canterbury, Salisbury and Winchester.
<i>Harthacanute</i>	..	..	London and Worcester.
<i>Eadweard the Confessor</i>			Gloucester, London, Shrewsbury, Worcester, Ipswich, Canterbury, Richborough, Salisbury and Winchester.

LEOFWINE :

<i>Eadgar</i>	..	..	Tempsford.
<i>Æthelred II</i>	..	..	Hamton, Bedford, Chester, Lincoln, London, Stamford, Tamworth, Maldon, Norwich, Sudbury, Thetford, York, Dover, Romney, Lewes, Bath, Malmesbury, Taunton, Wallingford, Wilton and Winchester.
<i>Canute</i>	..	..	Hamton, Bedford, Bristol, Chester, Huntingdon, Lincoln, London, Shrewsbury, Stamford, Warwick, Colchester, Maldon, Norwich, Thetford, York, Canterbury, Dover, Rochester, Chichester, Hastings, Lewes, Bath, Exeter, Ilchester, Sidbury, Wallingford and Winchester.
<i>Harold I</i>	..	..	Hamton, Bedford, Buckingham, Bristol, Chester, Lincoln, London, Shrewsbury, Norwich, Thetford, Canterbury, Exeter, Oxford, Wallingford and Winchester.

LEOFWINE (*continued*)—

*Harthacanute* .. .. Chester, Stamford, Warwick, Norwich,  
Thetford, Canterbury, Dover and  
Chichester.

*Eadweard the Confessor* Hamtun, Aylesbury, Buckingham,  
Chester, Derby, Gloucester, Hun-  
tingdon, Leicester, Lincoln, London,  
Southwark, Shrewsbury, Stamford,  
Norwich, Thetford, Canterbury,  
Dover, Hythe, Rochester, Sandwich,  
Hastings, Exeter, Ilchester, Oxford,  
Wilton and Winchester.

*Harold II* .. .. Bristol, Stamford, Rochester and  
Exeter.

## LEOFWOLD :

*Eadgar* .. .. Wilton.

*Æthelred II* .. .. Hamtun, London, Warwick, Colchester,  
Canterbury, Guildford, Wilton and  
Winchester.

*Canute* .. .. Hamtun, London, Shrewsbury, Stam-  
ford and Winchester.

*Eadweard the Confessor* Lincoln, Ipswich, Lewes and Win-  
chester.

*Harold II* .. .. Guildford and Winchester.

## LIFING :

*Eadweard the Martyr* .. Lincoln.

*Æthelred II* .. .. Hamtun, Bedford, Lincoln, London,  
Stamford, Warwick, Ipswich, Nor-  
wich and Canterbury.

LIFING (*continued*)—

<i>Canute</i> .. ..	Chester, Hertford, Lincoln, London, Southwark, Retford, Warwick, Ipswich, Thetford, Cricklade, Exeter, Oxford and Winchester.
<i>Harold I</i> .. ..	Lincoln, London, Southwark, Stamford, Ipswich, Canterbury, Hastings, Oxford, Wilton and Winchester.
<i>Harthacanute</i> .. ..	Lincoln, London, Ipswich and Oxford.
<i>Eadweard the Confessor</i>	Lincoln, London, Warwick, Ipswich, Exeter, Wilton and Winchester.

SEOLCA :

<i>Æthelred II</i> .. ..	Hamton and Winchester.
<i>Canute</i> .. ..	Winchester.

WULFNOTH :<sup>1</sup>

<i>Æthelred II</i> .. ..	Hamton, Hertford, Leicester, London, Colchester, Thetford, Romney, Dorchester and Winchester.
<i>Canute</i> .. ..	Chester, Gloucester, Leicester, Lincoln, London, Stamford, York, Romney, Shaftesbury and Winchester.
<i>Harold I</i> .. ..	Bristol, Chester, Leicester, Canterbury, Romney, Exeter and Winchester.
<i>Harthacanute</i> .. ..	Gloucester, Nottingham and Exeter.
<i>Eadweard the Confessor</i>	Hamton, Chester, Leicester, Nottingham and Stamford.

<sup>1</sup> The Hamton moneyers Wulfnath, of the reigns of Æthelred II and Eadweard the Confessor, were probably father and son. The name occurs again upon Northampton coins of Henry I, type: Andrew, XV, Hawkins, 255.



## WULFRIC :

*Eadgar* .. .. York.

*Æthelred II* .. .. Hamtun, Chester, Hertford, Leicester,  
Lincoln, London, Warwick, Worcester, Colchester and Wareham.

*Canute* .. .. Hertford, Lincoln, London, Southwark,  
Warwick, York, Exeter and Winchester,

*Harold I* .. .. Lincoln and Shaftesbury.

*Eadweard the Confessor* Leicester, Lincoln, London, Rochester,  
Chichester, Hastings, Steyning, Ilchester, Shaftesbury and Wareham.

To complete the reference and for comparison with the foregoing schedule, I append a similar schedule, in tabular form, of the Hamwic series.

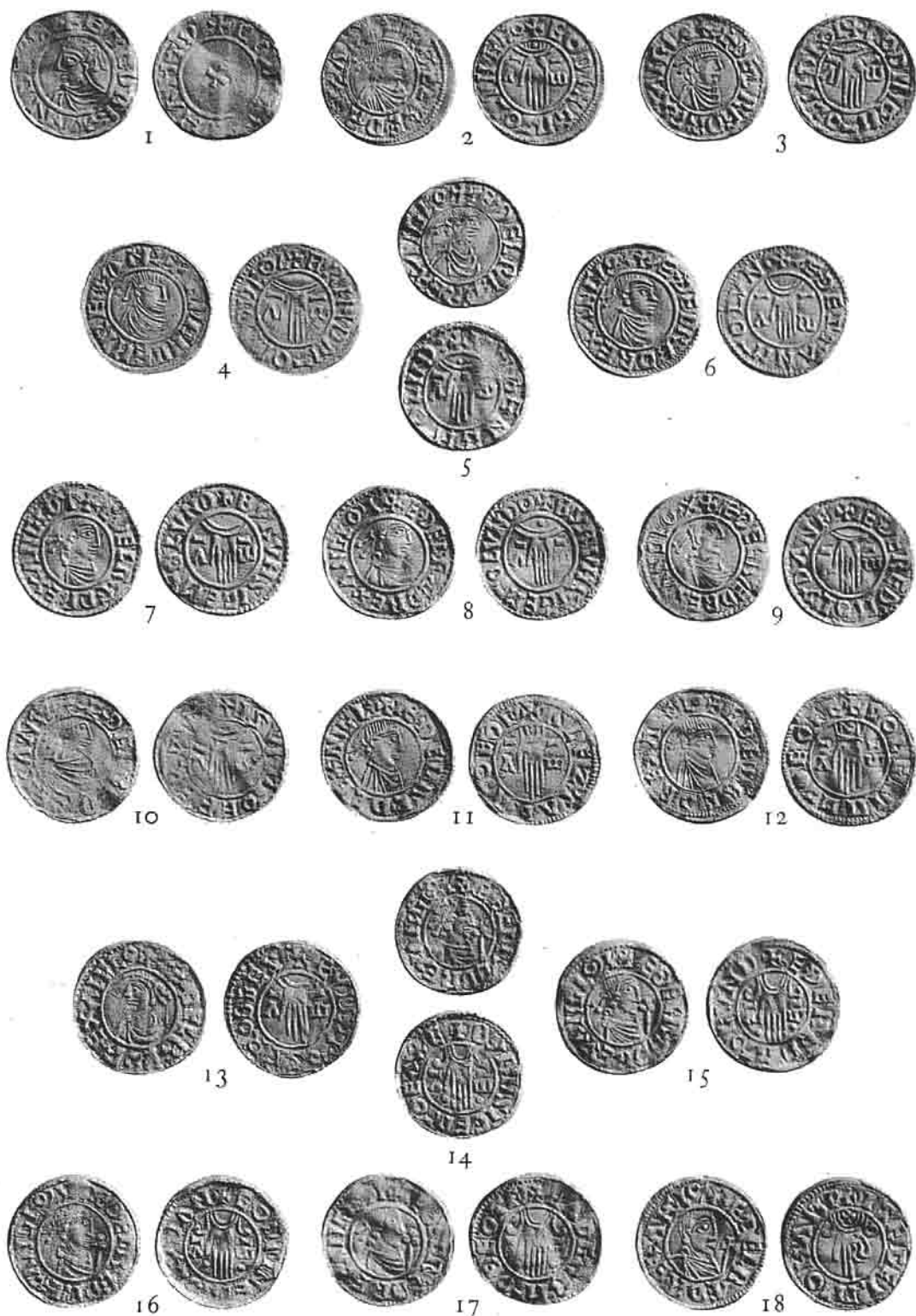
In addition to the following moneyers, whose coins read HAM, HAMPI, HAMVI and HAMPIC, are Leofgod and Spileman, or Swileman, whose coins disclose the mint-form HAM, which I assign to the Hamwic series.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See *ante*, pp. 40-41.

York.			x x			
Thetford.			x x			
Sudbury.		x				
Lincoln.			x			
Huntingdon.		x	x			
Southwark.			x			
London.		x	x x x x			
Hertford.		x	x x			
Hereford.			x			
Gloucester.			x			
Bristol.			x			
Romney.			x			
Dover.			x x			
Canterbury.			x x			
Lewes.			x x			
Oxford.			x			
Wareham.			x			
Malmesbury.			x			
Cricklade.			x x			
Winchcombe.	x					
Winchester.	x		x x x x			
Hamwic.	x	x	x		x	x x
	ÆTHELMAN : Æthelred II Canute	ÆTHELWEARD : Æthelred II Canute	GODMAN : Æthelred II Canute Harold I Eadward the Confessor	ISEGEL : Æthelred II	LANDBRIHT : Eadgar Eadward the Marbyr	E







A HOARD OF COINS OF ÆTHELRÆD II FOUND IN IRELAND

## A HOARD OF COINS OF ÆTHELRÆD II FOUND IN IRELAND.

BY WILLIAM C. WELLS.

**T**HE coins described in this article were found near Dublin in the early part of 1923, and came into the writer's possession a few months later. The hoard consisted of 34 coins, all of the reign of Æthelræd II, which were evidently deposited in the early part of that reign, as only the first two main types are represented.

The writer could obtain no information as to the circumstances in which the hoard was discovered, but there is every reason to believe that the 34 specimens described below comprised the whole find.

The coins were probably enclosed in a leather wallet or purse, which would account for the circumstance that whilst the greater part of the coins are in excellent state of preservation and quite flat, several of those which probably formed the outer part of the mass and came into contact with the earth in which they were deposited, were considerably bent, had become very fragile, and since the time of finding have broken into several pieces.

The writer has thought that it may be of interest to the Society to have a detailed list of the coins comprised in this hoard. It is principally upon evidence provided by hoards of coins that we must depend to enable us to determine the correct sequence of types. Of the reign of Æthelræd II, no satisfactory suggestion has yet been put forward to enable us to correctly allocate, with any degree of certainty, the sequence of the various types; and detailed lists of coins in hoards, however small, may prove of service to other investigators into this branch of numismatics.

The analysis of the hoard is as follows. The coins are all pennies; no divisions of the penny :—

Type I.—Obverse :—Bust to left.

Reverse :—Small cross.

(Hawkins, 205 ; Hildebrand, A ; *British Museum Catalogue*, i.)

Hamtune (Northampton) .. .. . 1

Type II.—Obverse :—Bust to right.

Reverse :—Divine hand issuing from clouds.

(Hildebrand, B 1 ; *British Museum Catalogue*, ii, variety a.)

Canterbury	..	..	..	..	..	2
Exeter	..	..	..	..	..	1
Gloucester	..	..	..	..	..	1
Lincoln	..	..	..	..	..	5
London	..	..	..	..	..	7
Lydford	..	..	..	..	..	1
Rochester	..	..	..	..	..	2
York	..	..	..	..	..	2

Type II variety, with Divine hand issuing from a sleeve cuff.

York .. .. . 3

Type II variety, with bust to *left*.

(Hildebrand, B 1, variety a ; *British Museum Catalogue*, ii.)

Shrewsbury .. .. . 1



Type III.—Obverse :—Bust to right, sceptre in front.

Reverse :—Divine hand as before, but with lines curved outwards issuing from clouds.

(Hawkins, 206 ; Hildebrand, B 2 ; *British Museum Catalogue*, ii, variety d.)

Exeter	..	..	..	..	..	2
London	..	..	..	..	..	3
Lydford	..	..	..	..	..	1
Thetford	..	..	..	..	..	1

Type IV.—Obverse :—Bust to right, sceptre in front.

Reverse :—Divine hand giving the Latin benediction.

(Hildebrand, B 3 ; *British Museum Catalogue*, ii, variety f.)

Hamwic (Southampton)	..	..	..	1
Total	..	..	..	34

The following is a descriptive list of the coins :—

Type I.—Obverse :—Draped bust to left, within inner circle.

Reverse :—Small cross, within inner circle.

(Hawkins, 205 ; Hildebrand, A ; *British Museum Catalogue*, i.)

HAMTUNE. (Northampton).

I.—Obverse :— + ÆÐED REX ANCLOX

Reverse :— + CYLM MTO HAMTV

Plate, Fig. 1.

Type II.—Obverse :—Draped bust to right, within inner circle.

Reverse :—Divine hand issuing from clouds ; on either side of hand,  $\bar{\alpha}$  and  $\bar{\omega}$ , within inner circle.

(Hildebrand, B 1 ; *British Museum Catalogue*, ii, variety a.)

## CANTERBURY.

2.—Obverse :— † ÆDELRED REX ANGLOR

Reverse :— † BOIA MTO CÆNT :•

3.—Obverse :— As No. 2.

Reverse :— † BOIA MTO CÆNT

## EXETER.

4.—Obverse :— † ÆDELRED REX ANGLOR

Reverse :— † BRVN MTO EAXECESTE

## GLOUCESTER.

5.—Obverse :— † Æ[DELRE]D REX ANGLOR

Reverse :— † L[EOFS IG]E MTO GLEAPEE

## LINCOLN.

6.—Obverse :— † ÆDELRED REX ANGL

Reverse :— † GODING MTO LINGEO Plate, Fig. 2.

7.—Obverse :— † ÆDELRED REX ANGL

Reverse :— † GODINE MTO LINGCOL Plate, Fig. 3.

8.—Obverse :—From the same die as No. 7.

Reverse :—From the same die as No. 7.

9.—Obverse :— † EDELREI RE† ANGL

Reverse :— † ANHND MTO LNDDCOL Plate, Fig. 4.

10.—Obverse :— † ÆDELRED REX ANGL

Reverse :— † VNBENG MTO LIND : Plate, Fig. 5.

LONDON.

- 11.—Obverse :— + ÆDELRED REX ANGLOR  
Reverse :— + ÆDESTAN MTO LVN. Plate, Fig. 6.
- 12.—Obverse :— + ÆDELRED REX ANGLOR  
Reverse :— + BYRVNSIGE MTO LVND Plate, Fig. 7.
- 13.—Obverse :— As No. 12.  
Reverse :— BYRYHSIGE MTO LVNDO
- 14.—Obverse :— As No. 12.  
Reverse :— + BYRVHSIGE MTO LVNDO Plate, Fig. 8.
- 15.—Obverse :— As No. 12.  
Reverse :— + GOD MTO LVN·DONI
- 16.—Obverse :— As No. 12.  
Reverse :— + LEOFRIE MTO LVNDO
- 17.—Obverse :— + ÆDELRIED REX ANGLOR  
Reverse :— + ZIBPINE MTO LVNDONI

LYDFORD.

- 18.—Obverse :— + ÆDELRED REX ANGLOR  
Reverse :— + ÆDERED MTO LYDANF Plate, Fig. 9.

ROCHESTER.

- 19.—Obverse :— + ÆDELRED REX ANGLOR  
Reverse :— + SDEPINE MTO ROFE
- 20.—Obverse :— As No. 19.  
Reverse :— + SDEPIN MTO ROFECE

## YORK.

- 21.—Obverse :— † ÆDELRED REX ANL  
 Reverse :— † I S VF M O EFERIC : • Plate, Fig. 10.
- 22.—Obverse :— As No. 21.  
 Reverse :— † ÐORSTAN M O EFOR

Type II variety, with Divine hand issuing from a sleeve cuff.

## YORK.

- 23.—Obverse :— † ÆDELRED REX ANL  
 Reverse :— † ALFZTAN M O EOF Plate, Fig. 11.
- 24.—Obverse :— † ÆDELRED REX ANL  
 Reverse :— † COLGRIM M O EOF Plate, Fig. 12.
- 25.—Obverse :— † EDELRED REX ANL  
 Reverse :— † FROZTVLF M O EOF
- A minute annulet attached to the upper side of the bar surmounting  $\bar{\alpha}$  and  $\bar{\omega}$ .

Type II variety, with bust to left.

(Hildebrand, B 1, variety a; *British Museum Catalogue*, ii.)

## SHREWSBURY.

- 26.—Obverse :— † ÆDELRED REX ANL  
 Reverse :— † EVIC M O S CROBBES Plate, Fig. 13.

Type III.—Obverse :—Draped bust to right, within inner circle, in front of bust, sceptre, cross pommée.

Reverse :—Divine hand issuing from clouds, between lines curved outwards from cloud, on either side of hand.

(Hildebrand, B 2; *British Museum Catalogue*, ii, variety d.)

EXETER.

- 27.—Obverse :— +ÆDELREÐ REX ANGLOR  
Reverse :— +BYRHΣ IGE M<sup>o</sup> EAXE Plate, Fig. 14.
- 28.—Obverse :— As No. 27, but from a slightly different die.  
Reverse :— From the same die as No. 27.

LONDON.

- 29.—Obverse :— +ÆDELREÐ REX ANGLOR  
Reverse :— +ELFPER[D] M<sup>o</sup> LVND
- 30.—Obverse :— +ÆDELREÐ REX ANGLOR  
Reverse :— +ÆDERED M<sup>o</sup> LVND Plate, Fig. 15.
- 31.—Obverse :— +ÆDELREÐ REX ANGLOR  
Reverse :— +ÆDEVLF M<sup>o</sup> LVN[D]O

LYDFORD.

- 32.—Obverse :— +ÆDELREÐ REX ANGLOR  
Reverse :— +GODPINE M<sup>o</sup> LYDAN Plate, Fig. 16.

THETFORD.

- 33.—Obverse :— +ÆDELREÐ REX ANGLOR  
Reverse :— +EADGAR M<sup>o</sup> ðEOTF Plate, Fig. 17.

Type IV.—Obverse :—Similar to type III, sceptre, cross pattée.

Reverse :—Divine hand giving the Latin benediction,  
*i.e.* third and fourth fingers closed ; cross  
pattée in clouds.

(Hildebrand, B 3 ; *British Museum Catalogue*, ii,  
variety f.)

## HAMWIC (Southampton).

34.—Obverse :— † ÆDEL RÆD REX ANGLOR

Reverse :— † ISEGE L MTO HAMPT Plate, Fig. 18.

Nos. 5, 6, 10, 14, 19, 23 and 24 have a pellet placed in the centre of the "clouds," or upon the sleeve cuff.

A few of the coins are worthy of special mention. The Hamtune coin of Hawkins, 205 (No. 1), so closely resembles the coins of Eadweard the Martyr, that—apart from other evidence—it must have been issued in the early part of Æthelræd's reign. The moneyer, CYLM, was also coining at Hamtune in the two previous reigns. Only one other similar coin of Æthelræd, of the Hamtune mint is known to the writer, and that also is in his cabinet. In the Murdoch Collection (lot 131) was a coin of Hawkins, 205, said to read DVLN MTO HANTVN, but which was probably a misreading of EVLM, or CYLM.

Concerning this moneyer Culm, or Cylm, Mr. Hill (*Numismatic Chronicle*, 1920, pp. 152–3), says :—

Mr. W. H. Stevenson writes as follows :—"Cylm appears to be a shortened form of Cynehelm, Cynelm. A Cylmes-cumb occurs at Harwell, Berks. (Birch, iii, 446, 24 ; 607, 17, from the *Codex Wintoniensis*, c. 1150). Cylmes-gemære, co. Worc., in Kemble, iii, 166, 19, appears in an undated copy of the boundaries in Heming's Chartulary, c. 1100, from which both texts are derived, as Cylemæres-gemære, 355, 6, probably an error due to anticipation of *gemære*. The name Cynemær could hardly appear as Cylmær, and no other known name-stem will explain it. The Cenelmes-stan of a contemporary charter of 949 (Birch, iii, 30, 4) at Welford, Berks, is the Cyman-stan of iii, 147, 20, from the Abingdon Chartulary, c. 1200. Cenelmes-tun, Birch, iii, 305, 2, 18, from the *Cod. Wint.*, is now Kilmeston, Hants. The contraction in compound local names is not the same as in the personal name naturally, but Cynehelm, Cynelm, Cynlm might conceivably yield Cylm, and Cenhelm similarly Celm.

The more probable shortening would be Cyn(e)l. We have not much evidence of O.E. colloquial shortenings, as the names in the written documents naturally appear in most cases in their full forms."

The presence in the hoard of this coin of Hawkins, 205, confirms the evidence of the Chester hoard (*Numismatic Chronicle*, 1920, pp. 141-165), viz., that certain coins of type Hawkins, 205, constituted the first, and not the last, issue of Æthelræd's reign.

The Shrewsbury piece, of type II, with bust to left (No. 26), is a coin of considerable rarity, only four specimens being described by Hildebrand, out of a total of 4,348 coins of Æthelræd III, in the Swedish Royal Cabinet. A nearly similar coin appeared in the Chester hoard (*Numismatic Chronicle*, 1920, p. 162).

The coin of type II, of York mint, with two small amulets on the reverse (No. 25), appears to be a variety hitherto unrecorded, as are also Nos. 6, 7, and 8, Lincoln coins, the reverse type of which combines the "cloud," with the "cuff" variety of type III. The Lincoln coin, No. 9, appears to have been struck from dies of local manufacture.

The "Benediction" coin (No. 34) of the "Hamwic" (Southampton) mint, is a rare piece, a Hamwic coin of this type being hitherto unrecorded. This is also—so far as the writer is aware—the first recorded instance of a Hamwic coin having been found in a British hoard. The moneyer's name was probably Degel, or Dægel, or possibly Dæghelm (*Codex Diplomaticus*, No. 179; *Cartularium Saxonicum*, Nos. 303, 312), and not "Isegel," as it appears upon the coin. A scribal variety of the letter D, was formed thus—*ls*, and if the lower part of a D of this form were not completely closed, it would probably be taken to represent "B", hence the die-sinker's error.

The name Isegel does not occur in any recorded charter or other early document, nor is it given by Searle in his *Onomasticon*, Part II.

The name Dægel, or Degel, occurs in "Degils-ford," the Anglo-Saxon form of Daylesford, Worcestershire, and is to be found in several charters recorded in *Codex Diplomaticus*.





ASSAYS AND IMITATIONS, FOREIGN AND NATIVE, OF  
THE LATE SAXON PERIOD, A.D. 975-1066.

BY H. ALEXANDER PARSONS.



LARGE measure of critical selection must be imported into the study of coins of the late Saxon period before it is possible to place the authorized coinages on a satisfactory basis as to their issues, their order, and the places where they were struck. Formerly it was the practice of most numismatists to take every coin of the period in question at its face description, both as to the king and country to which the obverse inscriptions superficially pointed, and as to the mints which the reverse inscriptions fitted into present-day borough nomenclature. Throughout the pages of the early numismatic writings are scattered constant references to, and discussions upon, anomalous, enigmatic and sometimes frankly impossible coins, about which the last thing the writers thought of doubting was the authenticity of the coins or the integrity of the inscriptions. In regard to mint readings, a superficial resemblance to present-day orthography was often sufficient for the allocation of coins to places which had no right to the claim. Since those early days, however, a new outlook has been brought to bear upon these coins and their inscriptions. So far as mint readings are concerned, numismatists are no longer content with a colourable resemblance to modern place-names, but delve into the question of contemporary orthography and dialect before allocating an obscure reading to a town, and even go so far as to consider the claims of foreign places before arriving at a conclusion. It will later be seen that it is sometimes necessary to call into question the authenticity of the readings themselves.

Again, numismatists are now appreciative of the fact that the imitation of the Anglo-Saxon coinages by sovereigns abroad in late Saxon times must have resulted in productions of coins which, although purporting to belong to England and its kings, were, in fact, imitations by foreign princes. One of the results, and no doubt a beneficent one, of the later Viking raids on this country was the setting up, for the first time, of an inscribed metallic medium of exchange in Ireland, Denmark, Norway and Sweden in the tenth century, and for three-quarters of a century after that the prototypes of these currencies were the coins of the late Anglo-Saxon kings. So closely, indeed, were these models followed, that often the names of English kings, mints and moneymen were slavishly copied on some of these foreign imitations, and only an acquaintance with a large number of true Saxon pieces enables the student to detect, by the workmanship or weight, which are the native coins and which the foreign imitations. It will readily be seen what possibilities of confusion and misunderstanding these facts set up. Although some attempts have been made to elucidate these enigmatic coins on up-to-date lines, our text-books, in the main, still bear the impress of the older outlook. This has the effect of causing collectors still to cling to an English attribution of some coins which maturer thought shows it would be safer to attribute to foreign sources.

Equally necessary with a more thorough investigation of the foreign imitations of the time is the detection of the existence of fraudulent money of native origin, and of unauthorized issues, and the sifting of them from the official issues. This is a question which has, so far as I know, been entirely ignored by numismatists in connection with the Anglo-Saxon coinage, although modern forgeries of Anglo-Saxon coins have had their share of attention.<sup>1</sup> But I submit that the question is forced upon the student of the period by the very existence of those sections of the coinage laws which so vividly portray the pains and penalties attached to their transgression. These, of course, related mainly to the delinquencies of the official

<sup>1</sup> *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. ii, 397-409; iii, 281-290; iv, 311-316.

moneyers, but there are certain references in the statutes which point to the existence of false workers outside the official circle. For example, the coinage laws of Æthelstan not only ordained that there should be one money throughout the realm, but also that coins should be made only in a town, one implication being that unauthorized persons had been found to have set up illicit coining presses in obscure places. Similar edicts were promulgated by King Eadgar, who, however, still found it necessary, at the close of his reign, to issue a new coinage and, judging by the "finds," to call in all the old money, owing to its inferior state.<sup>1</sup> I suggest that the poor quality of this money was due, not merely to the transgressions of the proper moneyers, but also to the work of forgers. Æthelred II was further constrained to proclaim that no one but the king should have a moneyer, and that the moneyers who should work in woods and elsewhere, *i.e.* not in the properly authorized towns, should forfeit their lives. Here again there is the strong inference of the existence of forgers. Cnut followed on with laws which proclaimed, *inter alia*, that one coin should be current throughout the kingdom and that no man should refuse it except *it were false*, and if any one should falsify it he should lose the hand with which he counterfeited it without option of redemption.

The existence of these laws must, I think, show the need for them, and the corollary is that false and unauthorized issues of money were made at this time and that probably specimens of them exist to-day. The contemporary issue of false coins is further proved by the cuts and chips found on so many of the coins of this time discovered in Scandinavian lands, which, as stated in my paper on "Symbols and Double Names on Late Saxon Coins"<sup>2</sup> are due to the distrust, by the Vikings, of the money handed to them as tribute, and to the consequent test, in a rough-and-ready fashion, of this money by cutting into the metal. These cuts and chips are more frequent on the types of money in circulation at the time the

<sup>1</sup> *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. xvi, 34.

<sup>2</sup> *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. xiii, 3.

tributes were made. They are naturally more rare on the coins before the tribute period. Many of the Anglo-Saxon coins found in Scandinavia are also so much bent as to indicate they were sometimes doubled over as an additional test of the purity of the metal.

By this two-fold process of sifting out the foreign imitations, and the native forgeries and unauthorized issues, some anomalies in the coinage of the time will disappear, obscure mint readings will be explained, and the coin types more easily placed. In a word, a study of the coins of the period will be rendered more smooth and the results more reliable. Before developing and illustrating the ideas outlined above, a few general remarks on the ordinary currency of the time become necessary.

In a previous article I have mentioned that the last quarter of the tenth century witnessed a definitely settled policy of coin design in England.<sup>1</sup> This consisted of the invariable delineation of the king's bust or figure on the obverse, and the universal insertion of the moneyers' and mint names, in conjunction, on the reverse. Prior to this period the coins were of a mixed character and, generally speaking, those with the king's bust on the obverse, and the mint names on the reverse, were the less frequent. There seemed, indeed, no very settled policy in the early period regarding the insertion of a mint name in conjunction with the moneyer's name, although a fair number of mint names are in evidence, and we know, from the coinage laws of Æthelstan, that most towns of any note at the time could, and probably did, coin money. In heptarchic times, when coin-striking towns were few, although the kingdoms were many, there was little necessity for placing the name of the mint on the coinage; but with the increase in the number of mints, and the amalgamation of the kingdoms, the need for differentiation became more acute. Looseness in the early designs, including the insertion, or omission, of the king's bust, is also evident, but all this was brought to a close by the new coinage of A.D. 975, referred to by Roger of

<sup>1</sup> *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. xiii, i.

Wendover, when, as the evidence of the "finds"<sup>1</sup> clearly shows, there was not only a change of type but also of tender, all previous issues being called in. From then onward the coin types in their different periods may be called stereotyped, and no marked change of system occurred until the thirteenth century, when Edward I omitted from the coins generally the names of the moneyers. The initiation of this settled policy in coin design might, I think, justly be regarded as the result of a mature consideration aided by the experience of a number of centuries. We know that the Anglo-Saxons commenced to use a metallic medium of exchange in the seventh century. This was the conglomerate series of sceattas, mainly unattributed, of mixed designs. It then passed to a fixed coining system based on the penny, with the incidence of the peculiar styca period in the kingdom of Northumbria, but still unsettled in regard to design and inscription, until it reached the beginning of the late Saxon period, when stereotyped general forms of coin design were, as before mentioned, instituted and retained for the following three hundred years. The corollary is that when this final change was promulgated in A.D. 975, the country had so far advanced in mechanical and artistic education that the currency would be free from the anomalous features which mark the coinages of countries newly adopting a metallic standard of exchange, or which would be characteristic of native forgeries. And such, in general, I claim to be the case in the coinages of the late Saxon period, notwithstanding the political disturbances of sections of that period. If one takes any issue of this time, which is unequivocally and officially Anglo-Saxon, one will find an overwhelming number of extant specimens so alike that they become monotonous in their regularity: for example, the Crux and Long Cross types of Æthelred II, the Pointed Helmet type of Cnut, the Four Oval types of Harold I and Harthacnut, and the Sovereign and other types of Edward the Confessor. But here let me say that I do not maintain that variation does not exist in the different types. With some issues it is sufficiently

<sup>1</sup> "Hoard of Late Anglo-Saxon Coins," *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. xvi.

marked to indicate, with other data, that there was frequently more than one die-sinking centre in operation during the period. With other issues complete departures from standard are made, *e.g.* the Hand of Providence on some of the coins of Æthelred II being in benediction instead of entirely open; the quatrefoil enclosure of Cnut's first real type, Hildebrand E, being sometimes almost round; the amount of mantle showing on the Confessor's coinages being curtailed more in some examples than in others; and in most issues of the time some variation occurs, due to the individuality of the die-sinker. But the variation generally appears, not on isolated specimens, but on a series of coins which, although somewhat varied, are of the same general workmanship, fabric and type as the main issues, and it is nearly always possible to assign the variation to its proper issue, and not to mix it with another issue, or constitute it a separate issue.

The same remarks apply to the legends. In Hildebrand's invaluable work on the coins of the late Anglo-Saxon kings in the Royal Cabinet at Stockholm, it will be observed, from the association of the obverse readings in the catalogue with the tables at the beginning of each reign, that most of these readings fall into a few standard types. Here again I am far from maintaining that it is only these coins bearing standard legends which were officially issued in this country. There undoubtedly is considerable variation in the reverse as well as obverse legends on the genuinely English coins, due to the idiosyncrasies of the die-sinkers, who must have had latitude allowed them in the spacing; or to changes in the personnel of the engraving office; or to dialectic peculiarities; or to first attempts in the engraving of names either of a king or a moneyer; or to other causes. Here again, as in the designs, the variations fall into groups, and it is always possible to assign the unequivocal coins with varied inscriptions to their proper reigns and mints.

Over and above the numerous coins with intelligible and explainable variation, either of design or inscription, the student is faced, in this period, by pieces which are commonly called barbarous, confused or doubtful, either in design, or in legend, or in



both; or, if not so called, are extremely difficult to assign to their proper country and period. Bearing in mind the probability that England, at this period, was well advanced in the mechanical arts of the die-sinker and moneyer, and having regard to the fact that it was more or less surrounded by kingdoms just emerging from numismatic darkness, which world-wide experience shows would be responsible for barbarous and abnormal productions, and also remembering that the laws of the kingdom indicate the existence of native forgery, I think the student must pause before and seriously consider the English attribution, the genuineness, and even the right to be regarded as a regular issue, of any coins of the period the designs or inscriptions on which do not fall into the general lines of the well-established types, and their varieties, of the period, or which the weight and workmanship place in an anomalous position when compared with the true types.

It will be impossible for me to deal with the multitudinous array of doubtful and barbarous coins known of this period. A large number of the worst examples have always been considered to be foreign imitations, but many others occur with colourable resemblance to authorised native issues. Each one of these latter should be considered on its merits, and although it will not be feasible to do that here in all cases, illustration of the subject will be afforded by a review, in this paper, of representative coins mentioned in published works, or known from other sources, which are peculiar or anomalous. Such review will also afford, in a broad sense, a guide to the principles necessary for judging a doubtful coin, or series of coins. It will also serve as a contribution towards the study of the types of the coins of the period.

Broadly speaking, the illustration of this inquiry falls under three heads:—

1. Foreign imitations.
2. Native imitations or forgeries.
3. Assays or trial pieces.

In connection with the first section, viz. foreign imitations of

Anglo-Saxon money, no numismatist nowadays seriously considers that type F, and F, variety a, in Hildebrand,<sup>1</sup> and type IX, and IX, variety a, in the British Museum Catalogue, Anglo-Saxon series, vol. ii, 1893, under Æthelred II, are anything but Danish issues. I have also, when writing on the coins of Harold I and Harthacnut,<sup>2</sup> adduced a considerable body of evidence showing that certain remarkable types, hitherto attributed to England, really belong to Denmark. By the readjustments then made the issues of the kings in question were brought within reasonable limits as to number, and will, I hope, in future constitute a better basis both for the study of the history of the time and of the coins. In my forthcoming treatise on the coins of Cnut, I shall have occasion to raise the question whether some of the types of his period are not also Danish, but, in the meantime, the section of this paper relating to foreign imitations can be usefully illustrated by consideration of individual pieces which have either been wrongly ascribed to mints in England, or which still constitute a puzzle to British numismatists.

It should first be mentioned that Hauberg, in discussing the early coins of Denmark,<sup>3</sup> and Major Carlyon-Britton in his treatise on "Uncertain Anglo-Saxon Mints and Some New Attributions,"<sup>4</sup> have already satisfactorily re-allocated some of the equivocal readings coming under the present heading; notably the coins given by Hildebrand under his type A of Cnut as

+ SVARTGOL MO PIB

+ SVARTGOL MO PIBR

and by those learned writers now assigned to Viborg in Jylland. To Denmark also should go, in my opinion, the coins of Hildebrand's type B of Cnut reading

+ VLFCETL MO VZTL

<sup>1</sup> Catalogue of Anglo-Saxon coins in the Royal Cabinet, Stockholm, 1881.

<sup>2</sup> *British Numismatic Journal*, vols. xi and xv.

<sup>3</sup> *Myntforhold og Udmyntninger i Danmark indtil 1146*.

<sup>4</sup> *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. vi.

and tentatively ascribed, by Major Carlyon-Britton, in the paper already quoted, to Islip in Oxfordshire. Similar readings occur on coins inscribed, on the obverse, with the name of Æthelred, one of which, of the same type as the Cnut penny under notice, is, according to Hildebrand—No. 3864—of barbarous workmanship, at least in the obverse reading. Following the principles outlined in this paper, such a piece must be excluded from the list of Anglo-Saxon issues. The moneyer's name is essentially Danish, and well known on coins of Denmark in and after Cnut's time; further, although it also occurs on coins of the strong Danish settlements of York, Lincoln and Norwich, it is never found on coins of mint towns so far west as Oxfordshire. In all the circumstances, the coin, with its barbarous obverse reading and Danish moneyer's name, is not Anglo-Saxon. The other two coins, one of Æthelred II's Small Cross type, and the other of Cnut's Long Cross type (Hildebrand B), should, in the absence of undoubted coins of Islip to support them, follow the penny of the Danish origin of which there is little doubt.

Another series of coins which the principles laid down in this paper exclude from Anglo-Saxon issues is that numbered 394 to 408 under Æthelred II in the "British Museum Catalogue of Anglo-Saxon Coins," vol. ii, 1893, with the exception of No. 397, the only one with intelligible readings on both sides, which is no doubt of Dunwich,<sup>1</sup> and of No. 399 which will be discussed later. The others, which appear to be of good silver and are mostly of abnormally heavy weight, can scarcely be ascribed to forgers. Further, there is no evidence to show that, because of the troubles of the time, the Anglo-Saxon die-sinkers had lost their art. London, the chief centre for the making of dies, held out against the Danes to the very last, and, in fact, it was never conquered by Cnut. There seems no option, therefore, but to conclude that the irregular coins under notice are amongst the early numismatic efforts of one or more of the Scandinavian countries. The issuers of the coins not only did not know how to punch a die properly, but had very hazy notions regarding

<sup>1</sup> "The Dunwich Mint," *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. ix.

weight adjustment, for the pieces range from 19.5 to 38.8 grains each. The one of the latter weight is illustrated below (Fig. 1). The strange objects in the angles of the cross on the reverse of this coin are quite foreign to the English coins of this type.



FIG. 1.

Under the reign of Cnut there occurs a coin in the British Museum, No. 609 in the Catalogue, of the Small Cross issue (Hildebrand A), the reverse of which is so obscure as to be quite beyond interpretation (Fig. 2). The weight is fairly high for the reign, and the coin appears to be of good silver. It cannot be an English piece, and the character of the inscriptions leads me to think that it is of



FIG. 2.

Danish work. Turning to Hauberg's account of the early Danish coins,<sup>1</sup> there appears a penny, No. 47 on Plate III of his work, so like the one under notice, except that the design on the reverse is a long instead of a small cross, that few will dispute that the coin dies came from a common hand, and that not of an official Anglo-Saxon die-sinker. The British Museum coin must, I think, be attributed to Denmark.

Under the reign of Harold I there appears in the sale catalogue (lot 1758) of Major Carlyon-Britton, which has almost the character of a standard work, an enigmatic coin doubtfully attributed to

<sup>1</sup> *Myntforhold og Udmyntninger i Danmark indtil 1146.*

Thetford, and reading on the reverse: + EÐFONEIOETMR . E. It is here illustrated (Fig. 3).



FIG. 3.

The method of treating the obverse of this coin, and its general art feeling, is exactly similar to No. 26, Plate V, and No. 40, Plate VI, in Hauberg,<sup>1</sup> and there can be little doubt that the piece above referred to belongs also to Denmark.

Before leaving this part of the subject, I should mention that, some time ago, my attention was drawn to an unusual coin formerly in the possession of Mr. J. O. Manton, and here illustrated as Fig. 4.<sup>2</sup>



FIG. 4.

Although generally similar to the Small Cross coins of Æthelred II, it differs mainly from them in the fact that the bust on the obverse is engraved to the right instead of to the left, and the coin would therefore appear to be a distinct and unknown variation from type, a mule coin, or a separate issue in the English series. That it is none of these is, however, clear from the workmanship. This is not only of ruder character than that of the ordinary Anglo-Saxon coins, but the reverse inscription is completely retrograde, and the obverse inscription is confused in such a way as to show that the mint worker responsible for it blundered through ignorance rather

<sup>1</sup> *Mynlforhold og Udmyntninger i Danmark indtil 1146.*

<sup>2</sup> Since this paper was written, Mr. Manton has kindly presented the coin to the writer.

than through indifference or by design, for these distinctive features of the coin show that the engraver was unaware of the first principles of his art, and that the bust, like the reverse inscription, was punched into the die the forward way and so produced retrograde impressions. Applying the principles outlined in this paper, that the die-sinkers of this country were well versed in the elementary practices of their art, I think we must assign the coin in question to the large class of foreign imitations. Had it been a contemporary forgery made in this country its weight, 21 grains, and its standard of metal would probably have been lower, and the work and inscriptions would have been more Anglo-Saxon in character, notwithstanding the confused lettering on the reverse.

Coming now to heading 2, a consideration of false native coins of the period resolves itself into two divisions: (*a*) the emission of coins of low standard of metal and weight by dishonest moneyers working with proper dies, and (*b*) the issue of false coins struck from forged dies, for some of which the official moneyers were probably responsible.

The coins falling into the first category would not superficially differ from the proper currency, unless the debasement or lightness were very pronounced, and as it is by no means certain that, at this period, weight was fixed with mathematical precision, some of the frauds cannot now be readily distinguished from coins of the proper standard. The main point of difference between this kind of fraud and the money struck by forgers of dies appears in the workmanship of the design, or inscription, or both. Some coins struck from forged dies may be of good weight though of low standard of metal, but their designs and inscriptions are either ruder than those of the official die-sinkers, or the reverse legend, which is the incriminating part of a false coin of the time, is unreadable, or obviously misleading.

Chronologically, the first coins of the period which give rise to discussion under the heading of native forgeries are the Small Cross pennies of Æthelred II included in the Chester hoard.<sup>1</sup> Some of

<sup>1</sup> "A Find of Coins of Eadgar, Edward II and Æthelred II at Chester," *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1920.

these coins present remarkable features which call for investigation. They are :

1. The low relative weights of the coins.
2. The barbarous form of the busts and inscriptions on many of them.
3. The seemingly low standard of the metal.
4. The peculiar method of indicating the strings of the King's mantle by curved rays ending in pellets grotesquely flying across the field of the coins.

Eliminating the broken and chipped coins, which are of course useless for a weight test, I found that the average weight of such of the Chester hoard coins as were acquired by the British Museum was less than 18 grains each, as compared with an average of  $20\frac{1}{2}$  grains for the Eadgar pennies in the hoard, 20 grains for the Edward pennies and 24 grains for the coins of Æthelred II bearing the Hand of Providence, the only other type represented, excepting a muled coin of the Crux issue. For further comparison, a test of the weights of the Small Cross coins in the British Museum Catalogue with the same early legends, *i.e.* those with the abbreviations of M-O and MONETA between the moneyers' and mint names, disclosed an average of  $20\frac{1}{2}$  grains. The natural inference to be drawn from this low relative weight of these Chester "find" Small Cross coins of Æthelred II, when compared with the coins from the same "find" both of the preceding and succeeding issues, and of the same issue but taken from other sources, is, that here we have examples of contemporary forgery, and, all unsuspected till now, they supply an illustration of the stringent laws of the time against forgery which have been already quoted. It is not to be assumed that all these Small Cross coins of Æthelred II in the Chester hoard are contemporary forgeries, but the second remarkable feature about them—viz. the barbarous form of the bust and inscriptions on some of them—not only further supports the idea of forgery in some cases, but also gives a clue to the genuine pieces, since these latter would be the



coins with normal workmanship and of proper weight, on the laid-down principle that the official Anglo-Saxon die-sinking office had so far advanced in the mechanical arts, by this time, that it would not have emitted dies which would produce such poor and grotesque impressions as those represented by some of the coins in the hoard. At this period, too, the troubles arising out of the later viking raids had scarcely recommenced, so that no explanation can depend upon the confusion arising out of those disturbances.

In connection with the third point arising out of these Chester hoard pennies, namely, the low standard of metal, I can only record the impression which I brought away with me from the British Museum after close examination of the coins, which is that some are of a lower standard of metal than others, and this, if actually the case, which only an assay can conclusively prove, points in the same direction as the first two features referred to. The coins seemed too fragile to cast, hence the omission to illustrate them here.

Finally, we have the curious detail on some of these Small Cross coins of Æthelred II in the Chester hoard, and only on them, of the barbarous specimens having the strings of the king's mantle flying out across the field of the obverse. This variety of design, so very plentifully represented in the Chester hoard, was hitherto known only on very few coins, but it is reminiscent of some other pennies of the period on which three pellets occur in the field of the obverse, and which, in view of similar marks on the reverse, belong to the category of differentiating symbols rather than to modification of design. The position of these mantle strings in the Chester hoard coins is so grotesque, curious and anomalous that I hardly think the trained workers in the official die-sinking office could have been responsible for so impossible and meaningless a design.

Associated with the peculiarities described above is the fact that, although the other types represented in any number in the hoard are of mints widely distributed, these Small Cross coins bearing the name of Æthelred are confined to mints outside Wessex, with the exception of the coin attributed to Totnes, the obverse of which is barbarous and the weight of which, even allowing for the

chip in it, is very low ; and the blundered piece, No. 109, doubtfully attributed, I think incorrectly, to Canterbury. London, from whence one would expect a considerable number in a new coinage, even although the " find " spot is not near London, is not represented. In a genuine coinage, not only should London have been represented, but far larger numbers of the types generally should have made their appearance, in view of the fact that the hoard covered the whole of the first few years of Æthelred's reign and contained so many as 52 of the rare coinage of Edward the Martyr.

On the other hand, the coins of Lincoln, which is the mint most largely represented, are more barbarous than any of the others, in design as well as in inscription. The Stamford pieces are also remarkable for their exceptionally low weight, which neutralizes the effect of their somewhat better workmanship. The weights of the three in the British Museum out of the four in the hoard are as follows :—

No. 102, an extra fine piece in condition, scales only 16 grains.

No. 100, also perfect, but not quite so fine in condition, goes  $\frac{1}{2}$  grain less.

No. 101, which is a little chipped, weighs  $14\frac{1}{2}$  grains.

Sixteen grains were obviously aimed at. Although one of the Stamford coins of Edward the Martyr in the hoard scales as high as  $25\frac{1}{2}$  grains, and another weighs 24 grains, so many are broken that a better comparison of weights is afforded by the coins of Edward the Martyr in the " British Museum Catalogue of Anglo-Saxon Coins," vol. ii, 1893. These scale, at the lowest 19.3 grains, and at the highest 23.1 grains. Probably 22 grains were aimed at, making the great difference of 6 grains in 22, when compared with the Stamford coins of Æthelred II in the Chester hoard.

Further anomalies disclosed by the coins with expanding rays and pellets on the obverse are as follows :—

1. The Bedford coins of Edward the Martyr, although of the same two moneyers as those of Æthelred, and separated from them only by a short interval of time, are without this grotesque feature

notwithstanding that the money of this reign is, as a rule, markedly inferior in execution to that of Æthelred II. The remaining Bedford moneyer on the Æthelred pieces, viz., BYRNPINE, is an improbable one in that form. If, however, it is intended to mean BYRHPINE it is significantly quite unknown on the undoubted Bedford coins of the period. This piece, although unchipped, weighs only  $16\frac{1}{2}$  grains.

2. As regards the Chester coin, No. 81, Mr. Hill's analogous reference to No. 1489 in Hildebrand is ineffective, for the latter reads ON LEIG, thus proving it to come at the end of Æthelred's long reign and far removed from the piece in the Chester hoard.

3. The Tamworth penny, No. 104, is of very low weight, and the workmanship of the head is barbarous. The reverse inscription commences NA, and the coin is, at that part, a little broken. It represents an entirely unknown name if commencing in N. The second Tamworth coin, No. 105, is equally barbarous in design, and low in weight, and bears the impossible moneyer's name of LEFDIN, suggested by Mr. Hill to be Leofwine. If it is intended to mean Leofwine it is so much blundered that no official die-sinker would have been guilty of it.

4. One of the York coins in the hoard, No. 107, is also inscribed with a name of a very unusual kind, otherwise entirely unknown in the period. It reads CIEOLOG HO EFE, and it is suggested, in the account of the "find," to be from the Irish Ceallach.

5. The uncertain and broken coin, No. 109, attributed to Canterbury, and stated to read . . III-OCΛZT, should, in my opinion, be corrected to . . III-O EAZI. Whatever it is, it is evidently intended to deceive, for it is unlikely that an official die-sinker would punch on the die a series of strokes as shown on this coin.

These phenomena, cumulative as they are, lead one to the conclusion that most of the coins of this Small Cross issue of Æthelred II in the hoard, and probably some specimens of Edward the Martyr, of low weight, are from an unauthorized die-sinking centre in the north or middle of England. It is improbable that the official die-sinkers, descending as they often did from father to son, would

all, and at the same time, and only on this occasion, be guilty of such gross departures from standard work as we find here. The coins were no doubt emitted by forgers working, as the laws against forgery put it, outside a town, who relied upon the troubles of the times and the change of monarchs to cover their nefarious proceedings. For the same reasons some other coins in the hoard, *e.g.* the Stamford pennies, although apparently struck from official dies, were fraudulent also in their weight and purity. In no other way can one account for all the peculiarities of these Small Cross coins as a whole, peculiarities which stamp them quite apart from the genuine official emissions either of the reign of Æthelred II or just before. With the Anglo-Saxons they evidently passed muster amongst the genuine examples, like forgeries of to-day, and it was left to the so-called barbarian vikings to notice these and similar frauds of the time, with the result that, as before stated, they took very good care to test, in their own fashion, the integrity of the coins given to them, either as tribute or in trade. That the test was thorough is proved by the numerous genuine coins from Scandinavia which have come down to us marked by the testing process. That it was effective is shown by the paucity, in the Scandinavian finds, of the rude spurious coins bearing the so-called rays ending in pellets, the known specimens being chiefly in this country. Amongst the 1,400 or so coins of the type in Hildebrand, apparently only one with this peculiarity occurs.

It is small wonder that the monarchs of the time were constrained to issue more stringent laws regarding the integrity of the money, and the numismatic remains of to-day show that they were largely effective. The Chester hoard is, indeed, almost alone in the plethora of doubtful coins it contains, but that contemporary forgeries were extant in other hoards is evident from the presence of them in almost all large collections, in which occur pieces of which there is strong suspicion. Some are of good weight, whilst others are of low standard both of weight and metal. What must make the student pause before accepting some of these doubtful coins as genuine official emissions is the curious fact that, although the obverses are

correct, the reverses are confused. It can only be regarded as an axiom that the workman who could produce a proper obverse might reasonably be expected to punch an intelligible reverse, unless some motive existed for confusing this legend. Now the reverse inscription is the one which incriminates a moneyer. Its form was designed for that purpose. When, therefore, we come across a coin so confused and blundered in the reverse inscription as to make it unintelligible, surely we have an instance of blunders deliberately designed to hide the identity of the issuer of the coin; and if the workmanship is otherwise good it is probably an emission of a trained moneyer acting fraudulently. Instead, therefore, of attributing such a coin to some unknown and unusual mint by a liberal display of fancy, is it not more rational to attribute it to one of the forgers who certainly existed at the time, the last thing in whose mind was to let anyone know, then or later, the place of origin of his coins?

In the extensive cabinet of Mr. R. C. Lockett, F.S.A., there is a coin of the Hand type of Æthelred II which I believe to be a contemporary forgery uttered by a non-official workman. It will be seen from the illustration (Fig. 5), that although the obverse inscription is clear, the work on the reverse is crude, and the legend is



FIG. 5.

unintelligible. The letters of it are ++ENAM W-OLA, and it is clearly meant to deceive, for the obverse legend shows that the die-sinker was quite capable of producing an intelligible inscription had he wished. Its weight is 22 grains.

I will now take an example of the same Hand type from my own collection, probably made by an official workman. It is illustrated as Fig. 6, from which it will be seen that the workmanship in this case is quite normal, except as to the reverse inscription.

In the hands through which it has hitherto passed it was regarded as a genuine coin, but three points are against it. Its weight is only  $13\frac{1}{2}$  grains, whereas the weight of the type generally runs high, well



FIG. 6.

over 20 grains. It has all the appearance of inferior metal and, above all, the reverse legend is a medley from which one might extract the following letters :—

+HRAONIEN M<sup>TO</sup> GFLI.

The prior owner, a reputable dealer, put this coin down to Ilchester—a rare mint, of course, for all these confused coins are allocated to rare mints. But I suggest that nothing reasonably intelligible can be made of this inscription, having regard to the time and country of its issue, and, further, that it was not the design of its issuer that anything intelligible should be made of it. As the design is good, for the bust is quite well done, and as the obverse inscription clearly and normally reads +ÆDELRED REX AN, the die-sinker is proved to be quite capable of intelligible work, and failed to punch a proper reverse inscription from an ulterior motive—the motive of deceit and forgery. So far as this coin is concerned, this is further proved by its light weight and low standard of metal.

Applying these illustrations to some of the puzzles given in the standard works, I venture to think that one explanation of the coin given as No. 329 under Æthelred II in Hildebrand, and doubtfully given by that writer to Corbridge, in view of the reading on the reverse, +OIERHDMOCOR, is now forthcoming. This is one of the very few inscriptions left unexplained in Major Carlyon-Britton's important work on "Uncertain Anglo-Saxon Coins."<sup>1</sup> The obverse

<sup>1</sup> *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. vi.



legend is quite clear, but there is all the appearance of intentional obscurity on the reverse, for the die-sinker could not plead ignorance of his craft, and I suggest that this coin also was intended to deceive. In other words, it is a contemporary forgery.

Turning now to the "British Museum Catalogue of Anglo-Saxon Coins," vol. ii, 1893, there is a penny given as No. 399 of the Small Cross type of Æthelred II which, although it has a clear and normal obverse legend of EDELRED REX ANGL, discloses a reverse inscription so much confused as to be unintelligible. It is described in the Catalogue as "much blundered." The weight is only 14.5 grains, quite low for this reign, and there seems no other explanation of the inconsistencies of the coin than that it also is a contemporary forgery.

The same remarks apply to No. 610, under Cnut, of the same Catalogue. Here again we meet with a fairly clear obverse of LNVTR + ANGLOR, showing what the die-sinker could do, but associated with an unintelligible reverse, composed of the letters +NEOFNIORREN. This inscription must be considered therefore to be intentionally disguised and the coin a contemporary fabrication.

In the same Catalogue, under No. 613 of Cnut, and also in Hildebrand under No. 284 of Cnut, occurs a reading with a clear obverse legend of +CNVT EX ANGL, but disclosing, on the reverse, the inscription +ODA ON DNCENITI, for which no satisfactory interpretation is forthcoming. The weight of the British Museum specimen is given as 13.2 grains. A further example was in the Bruun collection, lot 163, Plate IV, which scaled still lower, viz., 11.37 grains, and which, besides being of low weight, is of small module and of workmanship somewhat different from that of the ordinary coins. Placed as of uncertain attribution in the British Museum Catalogue, it was considered by Major Carlyon-Britton, in the work already quoted, as of Hiberno-Danish origin, but the weight and design are both against this.<sup>1</sup> Having regard, however, to its clear obverse legend and low weight, I think a more reasonable explanation is that

<sup>1</sup> "The Chronology of the Hiberno-Danish Coinage," in this volume.



the coin is the work of a native contemporary forger who did not intend the reverse inscription to be read for any particular place. The coin is important because it leads to a consideration of a penny of the rare type Hildebrand B of Cnut reading on the reverse, + ODA M'O MEONRE. This latter is given in Hildebrand's catalogue of Anglo-Saxon coins in the Royal Cabinet at Stockholm, but was unattributed by that numismatist. It came under review by Major Carlyon-Britton, who tentatively suggested that one of the Meons in Hampshire gave it birth. What makes the latter attribution unconvincing is that this is the only known coin of this suggested mint, and it seems improbable that such a small place, insignificant then as now, should be represented only in so rare and peculiar an issue as Hildebrand's type B of Cnut to the exclusion of coins of the common types. Had the issue been one of the common types of the period when, for political or commercial reasons, there was a large output of coins, the institution of a mint at even so unimportant a place would not call for special remark. Or had the coin been one of a period when hoards were few and not of great extent, the presence of examples of mints which were unimportant would be to some extent explained. But neither of these conditions applies to the coin under notice, for the type is probably an unauthorized one, and is, in any case, very rare, and the hoards of coins of the time are numerous. Add these indisputable facts to the obscurity of the mint reading, and to the strong evidence afforded by the preceding coin that a worker describing himself as ODA was one of the forgers of the time, and I think it is reasonable to conclude that this coin also comes in the dishonest class, and that its reverse inscription was never intended to indicate any known place.

In the same category must, I think, be placed the three following coins of Edward the Confessor, given as Nos. 258 to 260 under the mint of York in the "British Museum Catalogue of Anglo-Saxon Coins," vol. ii, 1893. The obverse legends are fairly clear, but on the reverse we have the following doubtful readings:—

+ L · CI O · N EIOER (2)

+ LIFICE ON EOF: (1)

The weights of the coins are 11·8, 11·0 and 12·0 grains, respectively, as against the usual 17 or 18 grains of the York coins of this type.

The annulet universally placed on the undoubted coins of York of Edward the Confessor, except type III,<sup>1</sup> is not in evidence on these three coins. For the threefold reasons of obscurity of legend, low weight, and the departure from type which the absence of the annulet constitutes, it seems certain that these coins were fabricated outside the usual channels, and represent examples of the forger's art of the time. Granting this, the anomaly of the absence of the annulet is at once explained, and prevents inaccurate surmise based upon wrong premises.

The period during which this type was current appears to have been fairly prolific of forgery, for, besides the three coins referred to in the foregoing paragraph, which the colourable resemblance to York of their mint-name caused to be placed under that city, three other coins of the same type occur in the British Museum Catalogue under the heading of uncertain mints. The obverse legends on two of the three coins are regular, but on the reverse we meet the under-mentioned more or less unintelligible readings :—

No. 1560.	ELEIPREIIPHIO	..	Weight, 12·5 grains.
„ 1561.	HORCEP ON CD	..	„ 15 „
„ 1562.	PIDRED ON RTF	..	„ 10·4 „

Having regard to their low weight and uncertain inscriptions, the more rational view is to consider that it was never intended that the place of issue of these coins should be disclosed. The third piece, reading PIDRED ON RTF, appears fairly regular. But the moneyer Withred is unknown of the period, except on this doubtful coin, and although RTF might be extended, superficially, to Retford (in Domesday Book it is, however, called Redford), this is also unknown as a mint-town and is unlikely to have been one.<sup>2</sup> On the

<sup>1</sup> "Edward the Confessor and his Coins," *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1905.

<sup>2</sup> For the correction of coins attributed to Retford in Hildebrand, see "Uncertain Anglo-Saxon Mints and Some New Attributions," by Major Carlyon-Britton, in *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. vi.

other hand, the weight of this particular coin is low even for this type, the weights of the coins of which vary considerably, and I think this piece forms a good example of the futility of attempting to ascribe an obscure reading to an unknown mint.

Under the reign of Harold I several coins might be noticed as illustrating our subject. In the sale catalogue of the coins of Major Carlyon-Britton appears a doubtfully attributed coin, which could be explained if students will admit the existence of contemporary forgery; it appears amongst the coins of Harold's second type, lot 571, and reads on the reverse:

PVLING HLYLEFOL

It is described as of Lydford, with the name of an unpublished moneyer. Here again we get a coin with a quite normal obverse, but which on the reverse discloses a series of letters which only with a good deal of imagination can be even colourably likened to a mint-reading. In this case the first three letters of the mint-name, HLY, are those of some coins of Lydford, and so, in the absence of a more rational explanation, the coin is attributed to that very rare mint. But apply the thesis of this paper and consider the coin as a forgery or a foreign imitation, and I venture to think that we have an explanation which is far more probable. That it is not a foreign imitation by an unskilled workman appears clear from the non-existence of a true coin bearing the name of PVLING to copy from, and the fact that the obverse inscription is quite clear, showing the worker's ability to punch a proper reverse die had he so minded. This leaves us with the conclusion—after all quite a simple one—that the coin is a contemporary forgery.

There was a coin purporting to be of Æthelred II in the Carlyon-Britton sale catalogue, lot 1743, now in my possession, which illustrates a very different kind of deception. Its design outwardly proclaims it a mule coin connecting the Long Cross type with the Crux type, but the workmanship and the lettering are very weak and the legends are unintelligible. In fact the coin has all the appearance of being a native falsely uttered piece, for the workmanship is not

bold enough to cause it to be classed as an imitation by a foreign workman. On the other hand the weight, 25 grains, is abnormally high, even for a true coin of the period, and this seemed strongly to militate against the idea that the coin was false. After puzzling over it for some time, the idea of its true character occurred to me. Now, the forgeries we have hitherto been dealing with were struck on flans of solid metal, even if sometimes base, but this piece comes more frankly in the open as a spurious issue by being composed simply of two thin sheets of silver overlaid on a disc of inferior but heavy metal. This at once accounts for the abnormal weight.<sup>1</sup> It is sometimes difficult to separate a forgery from an imitation made quite legitimately by a foreign workman, but this piece proves, beyond all cavil, that native forgery was, in fact, practised at this period, and that the laws respecting the issue of false money were not merely precautionary, but were inspired by the actual existence of evil-doing. This piece further justifies the distrust of the Vikings illustrated by their test of the integrity of the money given them, as tribute or in trade. By the small cuts and incisions so frequently seen in the Anglo-Saxon pennies found in Scandinavia, as before mentioned, a forgery of the type we are considering would at once be disclosed. With this type of forgery can be fittingly concluded my remarks on the section of this paper relating to native forgeries.

We now arrive at a consideration of another aspect of the late Saxon coinage which has not, I think, so far received the attention it deserves, although there is a brief allusion to it in the *British Numismatic Journal* of 1919-20, p. 52: this is the question of issue of patterns or trial pieces. Before dealing with representative emissions illustrating this view of Anglo-Saxon numismatics, a few preliminary remarks on the subject in general seem necessary. Our early money has so long been dissociated from the suggestion of such pieces, notwithstanding that they are universally a feature of

<sup>1</sup> When the author read his paper before the members of the Society on June 27, 1923, he partly raised the coating of this piece while he spoke.

the initiation of a new coinage in modern times, that no pronounced views appear to be current on the subject in connection with the early mediæval period. In the late Saxon era, with which we are immediately concerned, there occur, however, two pieces in gold which cannot possibly be regarded as current money. They are a gold penny of the Quatrefoil type of Æthelred II, and a gold penny of the Expanding Cross type of Edward the Confessor. Having regard to the value of the metal and its very different appearance to silver, these pieces can hardly have been the result of a moneyer's error. Neither can we consider them a separate gold currency, for entirely new designs would, in that event, have been adopted. The more reasonable view is that they were patterns or trials just in the same way as were the gold and silver specimens of the ordinary copper currency of later times. No numismatist doubts the propriety of the existing practice of placing the latter in the pattern or trial series, and the gold pence of Æthelred and Edward the Confessor are on exactly the same plane.

The suggestion of patterns or trial pieces which I am about to advance will quite naturally and freely account for the existence of some other exceptional emissions of the period. It accords with what we would expect of the economic and mechanical side of the coinage which, as I have stated, was quite well established in this country on definite lines, and it would fit in with the close attention which the laws show was paid to the coinage. In a word, why should not those who inspired the designs of our early money have had their periods of hesitation regarding the adoption of suitable patterns when a new coinage was in prospect, as well as the officials of the mint in modern times? Experiment in design must have existed then as now, and I believe the results of such experiment are evident in certain otherwise anomalous pieces, the existence of which can best be accounted for by the theory now propounded.

The first of these trials to which reference might usefully be made are the pieces described in Hildebrand as type E, variety c, of Æthelred II; they are illustrated here by Fig. 7, from which it will be seen that, although the obverse is that of the main type,

Hildebrand E (Fig. 8), the reverse discloses a new design of a Long Cross with the letters C.R.V.X. in the angles. It thus partakes of the nature of the issue called the Crux type (Fig. 9), although there



FIG. 7.

are essential differences. In view of the type of the obverse, it must come after. Now this word CRUX is known otherwise on Anglo-Saxon coins only on a single issue.<sup>1</sup> When, therefore, the question



FIG. 8.

of a new coinage was raised after the Crux type had served its turn, I suggest that the few coins of the variety under discussion are the concrete evidence of the initiatory work which would naturally



FIG. 9.

arise on such an event. The word CRUX would be very much in evidence in the mind of the designer of the new currency, and, for

<sup>1</sup> The Harthacnut coin on which the word CRUX appears is Danish. See "The Anglian Coins of Harthacnut," *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. xi, 33.

sentimental or religious reasons, or by force of precedent, he probably had it imported on the designs for the new coinage he was preparing; but, on reconsideration, similarity to the preceding issue caused its rejection in favour of the more distinctive quatrefoil design finally adopted. This, I suggest, is a natural explanation of these anomalous pieces. That they would conform closely to the models of the regular currency, in having the names of a moneyer and a mint punched on them, follows as a matter of course, otherwise the trial would not have been a true presentment of what the coins would have looked like as a whole. The fact of the presence of the names of moneyer and mint is, no doubt, the one which has thrown numismatists in the past off this new line of enquiry, and has prevented them from seeing and applying to these early coinages the principles of all ordered undertakings, viz. that of having assays first before the adoption of new ideas. And, after all, the trial emissions of later periods are often so much like the current issues that they are with difficulty distinguished from those issues. The pattern groats of Edward III, with crowns instead of pellets in the angles of the reverse cross, are similar examples. A good illustration of the likeness of patterns to current money is also preserved to us in the set of silver coins of George II of the date 1746. The design of these, which omits the word LIMA from under the bust, a characteristic of the current money of that year, is, for that reason, more like the ordinary currency of other years.

There is every reason to think that many trial pieces of post-Saxon times got into circulation, as was the case with the Georgian patterns above mentioned, and no doubt some of the anomalous Saxon pieces under review similarly passed into circulation. The only coins known of this suggested trial issue of Æthelred II's Quatrefoil type are the two inscribed on the reverse as follows:—

+ ALFPOLD M<sup>eo</sup> BAÐON  
+ GOLDYS M<sup>o</sup> ZEREBRIL

Both of these readings are abnormal, and the dies for these Æthelred pieces no doubt never reached the two western cities the



names of which are inscribed on them, but were destroyed at the common engraving centre when they had served their purpose of producing a few impressions for the information of the chief engraver or others concerned. Hence their great rarity at a time when, had they been an authorized general currency, they should have come down to us in at least fair plenty.

Coming now to the time of Cnut, I think there is also, in that reign, evidence of the system of issue of trials or patterns, and illustration of it is furnished by the pieces which, in Hildebrand and in the British Museum Catalogue, were constituted a distinct issue of coins and designated the *Pacx* type, from the circumstances that on the reverse appears the word *PACX* in the angles of a long double cross (Fig. 10).



FIG. 10.

The pieces are of excessively rare occurrence, and the only ones known to the present writer have the following legends:—

1. Obverse. +CNVTID REC  
Reverse. +SVMERLVÐA ON L (Stockholm.)
2. Obverse. +CNVT REX AN  
Reverse. +VLF ON\_INCONLNE (British Museum.) (Fig. 10.)
3. Obverse. +CNIT Ð DEI  
Reverse. +BRIHTRIC ON LIN ("City" Find.)
4. Obverse. +CNVTIDD RE  
Reverse. +EDRIC ON ÐEOD (Stockholm.)

Although Hildebrand places this so-called type somewhat early in his sequence, he rather inconsistently mentions that the design

on the obverse is that of one of the late issues of the reign, his type I (Fig. 11).

No modern numismatist would, I think, dispute that the two issues came close together. It follows, therefore, that the suggestion made in the introduction of the "*British Museum Catalogue of Anglo-Saxon Coins*," vol. ii, 1893—that the word PACX had some reference to the agreement arrived at during the meeting of the Witan at Oxford, in A.D. 1018, when it was decreed that the laws of Eadgar were to be observed—cannot be accepted as a sound one, any more than Hawkins's view that the coins commemorated the peace concluded with Eadmund Ironside in A.D. 1016. Notwithstanding the failure of these particular explanations, the numismatist is quite justified in associating remarkable coin designs with prominent historical events. It is primarily a question whether all the facts of the case are in one's



FIG. 11.

possession, and I think we must look for some less local event than those named for the inspiration of the Pacx pieces of Cnut. It should, however, be first mentioned that Hildebrand also made the tentative suggestion that these coins might be of Edward the Confessor's period with the obverse fabricated. The idea was present in his mind because the King's name on the specimens in the Royal Cabinet at Stockholm were somewhat blundered. The suggestion is, however, negatived by the single example, also of Lincoln, in the British Museum, which has a quite regular obverse legend (Fig. 10), and of the further specimen of the issue with a different moneyer's name on it discovered in the "*City*" hoard. Both these coins appear to have been unknown to Hildebrand.

Mr. C. A. Nordman adverts to this suggestion of Hildebrand, and amplifies it by remarking that there is a possibility of early and late

stamps being mixed together, *i.e.* in the reign of Edward the Confessor.<sup>1</sup> He states, in support of this, that the round s on the reverse of Hildebrand No. 1734 under Cnut does not occur on coins of Cnut bearing the name of Sumerlutha. This is, however, a detail of no weight, in face of the fact that the round s is of very frequent occurrence on the later coins of Cnut, including those of the Lincoln Mint. On the other hand, the evidence of the coin numbered 1735 in Hildebrand, which is of his ordinary type I, and combines an obverse identical in design and description with, and a reverse almost similar in legend to, No. 1734 in Hildebrand, is in support of the attribution of the latter to the time of Cnut (*see also* No. 1552 in Hildebrand, which has the same obverse). Moreover, if the suggestion that these pieces were struck in the time of the Confessor with mixed Cnut obverse and Edward reverse stamps is correct, there is the difficulty of explaining the presence of a sceptre pommée on the British Museum example (Fig. 10), instead of the fleur-de-lis sceptre of the normal issue of Cnut. It is inconceivable that the die bearing this unusual form of sceptre should have been preserved for a long period, and fortuitously discovered and used in the time of the Confessor. Further, another example of this Pacx issue, from different dies, is in existence. It is given as No. 3 above. Mr. Nordman was unaware of it, and it will readily be seen that every fresh, and differing, example which arises, weakens the case for the fortuitous use of old dies of Cnut, in the reign of the Confessor.

Mr. Nordman is, however, not convinced that the transfer to Edward the Confessor should be made, and, like Hildebrand, retains them under Cnut, but with reservation. In order to advance the subject to something definite, I now claim that all the anomalies, including the irregular forms of the inscriptions and of the sceptre, of this Pacx issue of Cnut are accounted for if we apply to it the principles enunciated in this paper, and consider that these abnormalities are due to the fact that the pieces are patterns or trials. That they are

<sup>1</sup> "Anglo-Saxon Coins Found in Finland," published by the Finnish Archæological Society, Helsingfors, 1921.

of the time of Hildebrand type I (Fig. 11) needs no demonstration. And as Hildebrand type I came after Hildebrand type H, and Hildebrand type H was struck in or before the summer of A.D. 1027, when Cnut forced his overlordship upon Sweden, and there coined money with Hildebrand H as the prototype,<sup>1</sup> it follows that Hildebrand type I came after that year. The time of issue of these coins can, I think, be deduced from the historical events which, at the time, occurred outside England in another part of Cnut's dominions. In the early part of the year 1027 Cnut went on a pilgrimage to Rome and, returning the same year via Denmark, explained in a letter sent to England his reasons for so doing, of which the following extract throws a flood of light upon our subject.

" I wish you further to know that, returning by the way I came, I am now going to Denmark through the advice of all the Danes, to make peace and firm treaty with those nations who were desirous, had it been possible for them, to deprive me both of life and of sovereignty. This, however, they were not able to perform since God, who by His kindness preserves me in my kingdom and in my honour, and destroys the power of all my adversaries, has brought their strength to nought. Moreover, when I have *established peace* with the surrounding nations, and put all our sovereignty here in the East in tranquil order, so that there shall be no fear of war or enmity on any side, I intend coming to England as early in the summer as I shall be able to get my fleet prepared."

In my account of the coins of Sigtuna inscribed with the names of Æthelred, Cnut and Harthacnut, I showed that Sweden was partly conquered in the summer of 1027. Written records indicate that Norway was subdued in the following year, 1028, and, as a result of this final conquest, Cnut convened, at Nidaros, now Trondheim, the then capital of Norway, a meeting of the magnates of England, and the chiefs of Denmark and of Norway, *i.e.* the three principal kingdoms,

<sup>1</sup> " Some Coins of Sigtuna inscribed with the Names of Æthelred, Cnut and Harthacnut," *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. xi.

to consider the conditions of the lasting peace referred to in the letter, and to decide on a future policy. In this important and far-reaching event, constituting Cnut's first and only imperial conference, and marking the policy adopted for the governance of the empire, there was ample reason for the idea which might have been in the mind of the chief engraver at the mint when the word PACX was introduced on the pieces under discussion. And more especially as, from that time onwards, with the exception of the irruption of Olaf the Saint into Norway and his defeat at Sticklestead in A.D. 1030, the empire, *i.e.* the north generally, was free from turmoil and enjoyed a tranquillity hitherto unknown.

The circumstances of this famous gathering would not have been fully known in England until A.D. 1029 or 1030, and the thought of celebrating this great pact, embracing nearly the whole of northern Europe, by a reference on the coinage can, I submit, be regarded not only as possible but as probable. The extreme rarity of the pieces on which the idea is expressed, at a time when coins of the authorized types have come down to us in considerable numbers, shows, however, that no general use of it was made and, instead, there was adopted a quatrefoil design punctuated at the points with four globules, possibly reminiscent of the four great countries of the empire—England, Denmark, Norway and Sweden. Such substitution was at least not inappropriate, for the peace conference at Nidaros was merely the outstanding event of one year. The uniting of the four kingdoms was expected to be lasting.

With the exception of one die, on which appears a cross pommée instead of a fleur-de-lis sceptre, the obverse dies were left unaltered, for, as mentioned on p. 90, Nos. 1552 and 1735 in Hildebrand both seem to be from the same obverse die as the Pacx piece, Hildebrand No. 1734, numbered 1 above. The names of Brihtric and Edric, Nos. 3 and 4 above, are also in evidence on the coins of Lincoln and Thetford of the current type I. Ulf is, however, not traceable as a moneyer of Lincoln, or any other undoubted English mint in Cnut's time, and this, added to the exceptional use of the sceptre pommée on the relative Pacx piece, strengthens the present explanation of

the issue, for in this case neither the obverse nor the reverse was used for the finally authorized design.

As in the case of the Crux patterns of Æthelred II (Fig. 7), a trial of this period would, as now, be made in the same general form as the ordinary currency which, in late Saxon times, invariably included the names of the moneyer and mint.

An alternative explanation of these excessively rare Pacx pieces seems to be that a die-sinker went beyond the standard design, and completely modified the reverse of some dies of Hildebrand type I of Lincoln and Thetford which he was preparing for the new coinage. The modification is, however, so drastic that it would scarcely pass, and there also seems no good reason why the die-sinker should have given himself the extra trouble which such unauthorized modification from standard would have involved, or that the local receiver of the dies would have accepted them.

Admitting the Pacx pieces as trials of the time when Hildebrand type I was about to be put into circulation, a date for the initiation of the latter is forthcoming at about the year 1030, probably a little before. Although the convention at Nidaros took place in A.D. 1028 or 1029, Cnut returned with his suite to England only after a leisurely progress southward to Denmark, frequently landing and meeting the local Norwegian chiefs on the way, and so cementing the peace already made in the North.



FIG. 12.

An illustration of our subject also comes from the reign of Edward the Confessor. It is the excessively rare issue given in Hildebrand as type I, variety a, and in the British Museum Catalogue as type XIV. It is known with the inscription of the following towns, Cricklade, Dover, Sandwich, Tamworth and Worcester. The Cricklade one is illustrated as Fig. 12.

It will be seen that the reverse is identical with the ordinary type 11, Fig. 13, but the obverse has rather more in common with the previous type 10, Fig. 14. There are, however, essential differences. The bust descends to the edge of the coin instead of being confined in the inner circle. The mantle is arranged differently. The right hand and the arm and a sceptre are introduced into the



FIG. 13.

design. The inner circle of type 10 is absent and the size of the pieces is appreciably larger than most examples of type 10.<sup>1</sup> In view of these numerous and important variations, and of the fact that no specimen exists with this obverse associated with a reverse of type 10, it is improbable that these are mule coins connecting types 10 and 11 as suggested by Major Carlyon-Britton.<sup>2</sup> Clearly, the obverse cannot be regarded as normal either to type 10 or to



FIG. 14.

type 11, and a mule coin should reflect the normal designs of two issues of money. Hildebrand was the first numismatist to arrange, in some classified order, the types of this king, and he placed these assays as variety a of his type I, Carlyon-Britton's type 11. The obverse of these pieces differs so drastically from that of the main

<sup>1</sup> The specimen of type 10 illustrated as Fig. 14 was struck on an unusually broad flan.

<sup>2</sup> "Edward the Confessor and his Coins," *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1905.



type II, however, that the pieces can hardly be regarded as varieties in the ordinary meaning of that term.

Mr. Willet in his account of the "City" hoard<sup>1</sup> was so impressed with the differences of design on these coins that he allocated them to a separate issue entirely, and this was followed in the "British Museum Catalogue of Anglo-Saxon Coins," vol. ii, 1893. This explanation is, however, not altogether satisfactory, in view of the fact that the reverse is identical with type II, Fig. 13. Further, the pieces are of excessive rarity, and the "finds" of the time have produced so many coins of closely related types, that had the pieces in question been a distinct issue of money they would have come down to us in far greater plenty. Apply, however, the theory advanced in this paper, and consider the pieces as assays not ultimately approved, and they become no longer anomalous. What most militates against the application of the theory to these pieces are the mint names which appear on them. As in the preceding examples, it is not necessary, however, to consider that the pieces were actually struck in those towns. Specimens were no doubt taken off the dies in the central engraving office, as in the case of the gold piece of the Confessor before alluded to, for approval, showing the full idea of the proposed issue, but the obverse design was ultimately rejected in favour of the authorized type as we know it. As the preceding issue was a full-face one, this is quite reasonable. Even before the profile design was selected for the general currency, some experiment in profile types appears to have been made, for the unique piece illustrated as Fig. 3 in the article entitled "The Prototype of the First Coinage of William the Conqueror,"<sup>2</sup> may justly be regarded as a result of it. The idea of showing a proposed design for a coinage in full by striking off impressions of both sides is a common-sense one, and was undoubtedly a feature of most of the later mediæval pattern and trial issues. If these pieces which I now designate as patterns or trials were not actually struck at the places named on

<sup>1</sup> *Numismatic Chronicle*, new series, vol. xvi.

<sup>2</sup> *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. xv.

them, it goes far towards explaining the presence on them of mints of such great rarity; for, if we except Dover, the towns named showed little minting activity in any period, and, at this particular time, there were no great tribute payments to account for issues of money at small places, as was the case in the first few decades of the period we are considering. If the designs were those of an authorized issue, we ought to have examples of it from the prolific mints like London, Lincoln and Winchester.<sup>1</sup> This is the case with genuine issues of money of which the accident of treasure-trove has resulted in few examples being handed down to us, for example, in some of the rare types of Henry I. It is, indeed, quite possible that some or all of these very small mints were dormant at the time, and that their names were selected because of this, in order to avoid confusion regarding responsibility for issue. It is at least significant that specimens of the main issue, type II, are not in evidence from all the towns concerned, and it cannot be argued, for obvious reasons, that they took the place of coins of the main type at those towns or that they are the product of a local die-sinking centre. From whichever standpoint the matter is looked at, the present explanation, that these pieces are trials or patterns, seems less open to objection than the points of view hitherto held regarding them.

As giving point to the various theories and propositions advanced in this paper, if the whole mass of documentary evidence as to the history of any century of modern times was swept away, or at least remained only in the meagre form of the last century of the Anglo-Saxon epoch, it requires little imagination to believe that the real coinages of that century would, unless great discrimination were brought to bear upon them, be intermixed with patterns, trials, forgeries and, if the century witnessed them, foreign imitations. To take the eighteenth century, I have already quoted one illustration of a pattern coinage of exactly similar design to the current money (p. 87). In the same century there is a series of copper patterns of

<sup>1</sup> The example attributed to Winchester in the Ready Sale Catalogue of 1920, lot No. 183, is of Worcester.

the reign of Queen Anne which, without extraneous information, one might have placed as extremely rare varieties of current money, or even as distinct, though rare, issues. The real evidence is, however, strong that some of these Anne pieces are not even patterns, but simply medalllets or jettons. Forgeries of the same century, especially in copper, would probably also have been accepted, even by practised numismatists, as authorized currency, and impossible dates of issue would therefore have been introduced. A good example of this is afforded by the Irish halfpenny (Fig. 15).



FIG. 15.


Although in design it is of that issue of Ireland restricted to the years 1766 and 1769, its date is 1776; but the work is practically as good as the normal copper coins of the period, and did we not know that the design was current only up to 1769 there would have been grave risk of accepting this piece as an official issue of 1776.

If, in the eighteenth century, with its wealth of recorded facts, we have occasionally confounded coins with the other types of the die-sinker's art, we are much more likely to have been under misapprehension in regard to some numismatic remains of Anglo-Saxon times.



## THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE HIBERNO-DANISH COINAGE.

BY H. ALEXANDER PARSONS.

HE series of coins attributed to the Danish, or, more strictly speaking, Norse kings ruling in Ireland has always been a difficult problem, and its chronology has not so far been satisfactorily elucidated. Passing by as unsubstantiated and impossible the fanciful attributions of early writers on Irish coins, such as Simon and Lindsay, by whom meaningless letters or parts of letters were translated into the names of known chiefs, and imitations of Anglo-Saxon types were anachronistically given to Hiberno-Danish princes who held sway in Ireland before the introduction of the prototypes in England—we arrive at what must be regarded as the first step towards a proper view of this difficult series of coins. It was the work of the late Mr. Bernard Roth, F.S.A., who, in this *Journal*,<sup>1</sup> brought together, at considerable expense and great labour, a complete description, with numerous illustrations, of all the varieties of these coins known at the time. Whilst every student of Irish coins must be grateful for the work of Mr. Roth, we must remember that it was offered by its author, with all the wealth of material it contains, not as any attempt to solve the insistent questions of sequence of the types and their chronology, but, as he tells us, in the hope that it might “prove to be of some use to future students.” The author states, indeed, that he was no nearer a solution of the matter than was Dr. Aquilla Smith, who, writing on the “Human Hand on Hiberno-Danish coins,”<sup>2</sup> considered that the only Irish

<sup>1</sup> “The Coins of the Danish Kings of Ireland,” by Bernard Roth, F.S.A., *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. vi.

<sup>2</sup> *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1883.

prince of the period to whom coins could be allocated with certainty was Sihtric III, A.D. 989-1029. With this view, however, Mr. Roth did not agree, and, in a footnote, he demurred to it, but as his object was to collect materials for others rather than to express his own views, he gave no reasons for such dissent, and, indeed, he attempted to treat the conflicting theories of all previous writers impartially throughout his paper. For example, one is constantly met by remarks implying that other writers and collectors, whose works or opinions Mr. Roth had consulted, did not consider some of the coins were Hiberno-Danish, and although Mr. Roth inserts the pieces, he gives no reasons for so doing. The result is that many continental Danish, Norwegian and Swedish coins have been admitted into the monograph and rendered the subject more complex than before. In other words, Mr. Roth's purpose was descriptive rather than constructive.

The chief value, therefore, of Mr. Roth's work is undoubtedly his collation in one general view of practically all the known varieties of Hiberno-Danish coins, and, with its aid, supplemented by application of data available from continental coinages of the same epoch, it will, I think, be possible to place the Hiberno-Danish coins in their proper periods. In the process I desire to give full justice to Mr. Roth's labours, without which a further advance towards a solution of the subject would not have been possible.

The first step is to eliminate from Mr. Roth's work the coins which are certainly continental, and, for the sake of clarity, those which can only doubtfully be ascribed to Hiberno-Danish kings, for no reliable deductions can be made from coins which are not undoubtedly of the country treated.

In that relation it will be useful to refer to an article on the weights of the coins of the period which appeared in the *Numismatic Chronicle* of 1871.<sup>1</sup> It is there shown that the imitations of Anglo-Saxon coins of very high weight are those of the primary issues of Sweden and Norway. As the undoubted coins of Ireland never exceed the weights of the relative types in England, and, as time

<sup>1</sup> "Some account of the Weight of English and Northern Coins in the tenth and eleventh centuries," by C. J. Schive.

progressed, came very far short of them, it follows, I think, that the coins of high weight are not Hiberno-Danish. This is proved by the fact that all these heavy pieces included in Mr. Roth's work have unintelligible legends, and the undoubted coins of Dublin with unintelligible inscriptions not only do not come up to the English weights, but fall, generally speaking, much below them. The anomaly of giving to Ireland a series of unintelligible coins of high weight—some run to 40 grains—at one extreme, with unintelligible coins of low weight—down to 5 grains—at the other, whilst, the coins with intelligible inscriptions only follow the weights of the Anglo-Saxon prototypes, will disappear if we assign to their true countries the coins of abnormal weights.

From various remarks made in Mr. Roth's work, it will be seen that the late Mr. L. E. Bruun, of Copenhagen, was also of opinion that some of these debatable coins of high weight belong, not to Scandinavian Ireland, but to Scandinavia proper. Further peculiarities about them are that the sites of their discovery are generally in Scandinavia and Finland. Their artistic feeling is also quite different from that of the true Irish coins, as a glance at the relative plates in Mr. Roth's paper will show. Whilst admitting that many undoubted Hiberno-Danish coins have been unearthed in the great northern peninsula, this seems no adequate reason why these heavy pieces, which differ in weight and artistic feeling from the true Hiberno-Danish coins, should be allocated to Ireland.

Applying the principle of high weight now enunciated, the under-mentioned coins in Mr. Roth's work must be regarded as continental : 2, the last of his series 9, 10, 15, 17, 18, 25, 77, two coins of series 185, 186 and 190. The other coins included in Mr. Roth's work which, in my view, although not on the weight test, are either certainly not, or in some cases are very doubtfully, Hiberno-Danish, are given hereunder. In this connection it should be observed that Mr. Roth explained that his group 53, Plate X, 235 to 242, were not Hiberno-Danish, but "Danish types that have been erroneously attributed to the Hiberno-Danish series." This group will not therefore be further referred to here.



ROTH, PLATE I, 11.—This is a very interesting and rare coin of Henry, Count of Stade, 976–1016. It was misread by Mr. Roth, and should be corrected to—

Obverse :—X HEINRICVS : CM = *Henricus Comes*.

Reverse :—X HROSA ME FEC retrograde = Hrosa made me.<sup>1</sup>

ROTH, PLATE I, 14.—This is one of the very few types in the great series of Hiberno-Danish coins brought together by Mr. Roth which does not bear on one side a figure, more or less rude, of the prince under whose rule the coins were issued. On the other hand, there are numerous coins of Denmark on which this important detail is omitted, and, if one views the series of early bracteates of that country, there is sufficient in their designs to warrant an assumption that the obverse of number 14 was inspired by some of them, although the reverse no doubt had its prototype in the *crux* issue of Æthelred II. I think we are more justified in considering this a Danish, than a Hiberno-Danish, piece.

ROTH, PLATE III, 74, 75, AND PLATE IV, 80.—The workmanship of the bust and lettering marks these coins as distinct from the Irish series. The two latter were found in Finland. To which continental Scandinavian kingdom they belong is an open question.

ROTH, PLATE IV, 88.—This coin also stands quite alone in the series given in Mr. Roth's work, at least as far as the obverse is concerned. It portrays a full-faced bust with a good representation of a tall crown. There is a far more life-like expression in the face than is usual on the coins of this period, and I feel that it belongs to a later age than that we are considering. It has much in common with the long-cross coins of Henry III, struck in the thirteenth century. I have little hesitation in saying that it is not Hiberno-Danish, and possibly not Scandinavian at all.

<sup>1</sup> These coins were ascribed by Schive in *Norges Mynter i Middelalderen* to Jarl Eric of Norway, A.D. 1009–1015, but it was demonstrated by Dannenberg in *Die Deutschen Münzen der Sächsischen und Fränkischen Kaiserzeit* that they belong to Henry the Good, Count of Stade, a town near the estuary of the Elbe.

ROTH, PLATE VIII, 182 AND 183.—It is an open question whether these probably unique coins belong to Ireland. They do not directly follow Anglo-Saxon types, although the original of the obverse might have had its inspiration from the *Agnus Dei* design of Æthelred II. It is, however, more like the coins with galloping horse of Magnus the Good, A.D. 1042–1047, illustrated in Hauberg, Plate VII, 15. The quatrefoil ornament of the reverse of number 182 is undoubtedly taken from some types of the Danish Kings, Magnus the Good and Swend Estridsen, A.D. 1047–1075.

ROTH, PLATE VIII, 184.—This is a well-formed and well-struck specimen of the coinage of King Harthacnut of Denmark, A.D. 1035–1042. It clearly bears his name on the obverse, and is as clearly inscribed on the reverse side with the name of a well-known Danish moneyer of Lund, in East Denmark, and with the initial letter of the mint-place.

ROTH, PLATE VIII, 185 AND 187.—Although these pieces weigh only 19.3 and 21 grains respectively, they are of the large module and general style of design and lettering of number 186, and of two other similar coins referred to by Mr. Roth on p. 124 of his paper following number 185. The weights of these latter are of the high standard of the earliest coinage of Sweden and Norway, to one of which countries they no doubt belong. All three coins, numbers 185, 186 and 187, are in the Helsingfors Museum and were found in Finland, which strengthens their attribution to one of the continental Scandinavian kingdoms.

ROTH, PLATE VIII, 191 AND, IN TEXT, 191A.—Here again, although the weight of the coins allows of their admission into the Hiberno-Danish series, the workmanship and lettering are so essentially different as to force them out of those coinages. They are associated in design with number 190 which, on the weight test, belongs to Scandinavia.

ROTH, PLATE VIII, 194.—Another specimen of this coin, in the R. Carlyon-Britton collection, is illustrated below, and in

my view belongs to the Norwegian series, ascribed by Schive<sup>1</sup> to the time of Harold Hardrada, very similar examples of which appear on Plate III of Schive's work. The specimen illustrated by Mr. Roth



NORWEGIAN COIN OF THE TIME OF HAROLD HARDRADA, A.D. 1047-1066.

should, I consider, follow this attribution ; as also should numbers 192, 193 and 196, which, although their obverses approximate to the Hiberno-Danish series, have reverses of the Norwegian coins.

ROTH, PLATE VIII, 195.—This coin is treated on the obverse in quite a different style from that of the true Hiberno-Danish pieces, and is a penny of Norway of the time of Harold Hardrada, or soon after. Numerous examples are extant in Norway—*see also* Schive, Plate III.

ROTH, PLATE IX, 201, 207 AND 215.—These are so uncertain in design, as well as in lettering, that I doubt whether they were officially struck, the general workmanship and weight pointing to contemporary forgery.

Whilst on the subject of misattributions, it might usefully be mentioned that the coins illustrated in Lindsay<sup>2</sup> as number 22, plate 1 ; number 26, plate 2 ; number 28, supplementary plate 2 ; and number 49, supplementary plate 3, are Anglo-Saxon coins of Edward the Confessor. They are of the early types of that king on which the royal name was often blundered. They are not referred to therefore by Mr. Roth. Neither is the coin of Stephen's period illustrated in the "Rashleigh Sale Catalogue," plate IX, 601, which

<sup>1</sup> *Norges Mynter i Middelalderen*, 1865.

<sup>2</sup> *A View of the Coinage of Ireland*, 1839.

was described as "Baronial, or possibly Irish." Although the legends on this latter coin are meaningless, the piece is far too well designed to be Irish.

Having eliminated the Danish, Norwegian and Swedish coins embodied in Mr. Roth's work, an analysis of the remainder discloses, besides a few apparently original or Danish designs, a number of imitations of Anglo-Saxon and Norman coins given in the standard works as follows :—

Æthelred II.—Hildebrand,<sup>1</sup> A, C, D and E ; " British Museum Catalogue,"<sup>2</sup> i, iii variety a, iv variety a, and viii ; Parsons,<sup>3</sup> 2, 3, 4 and 5.

Cnut.—Hildebrand,<sup>1</sup> E, " British Museum Catalogue,"<sup>2</sup> viii.

Harold I.—Types not followed in Ireland.

Harthacnut.—Types not followed in Ireland.

Edward the Confessor.—Hildebrand<sup>1</sup> A, A variety c, and H ; " British Museum Catalogue,"<sup>2</sup> i, ix and xiii ; Carlyon-Britton,<sup>4</sup> 2, 8 and 10.

Harold II.—Hildebrand<sup>1</sup> A ; " British Museum Catalogue,"<sup>2</sup> i.

William I.—Carlyon-Britton,<sup>5</sup> and " British Museum Catalogue,"<sup>6</sup> iii, iv, v and viii.

William II.—Carlyon-Britton,<sup>5</sup> and " British Museum Catalogue,"<sup>6</sup> ii.

An allocation of these imitations, and others of native or Danish designs, to their approximate periods of issue can, I think, be secured, not merely by their association with the above related Anglo-Saxon issues, but also, and so far as the unintelligible pieces are concerned, mainly on consideration of the weights of the coins.

<sup>1</sup> *Catalogue of Anglo-Saxon Coins in the Royal Museum, Stockholm*, 1881.

<sup>2</sup> *Catalogue of Anglo-Saxon Coins in the British Museum*, vol. ii, 1893.

<sup>3</sup> "The Coins of Æthelred II," *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1910.

<sup>4</sup> "Edward the Confessor and his Coins," *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1905.

<sup>5</sup> "A Numismatic History of the Coins of William I and II," *British Numismatic Journal*, 1905.

<sup>6</sup> *Catalogue of Coins of the Norman Kings in the British Museum*, 1916.

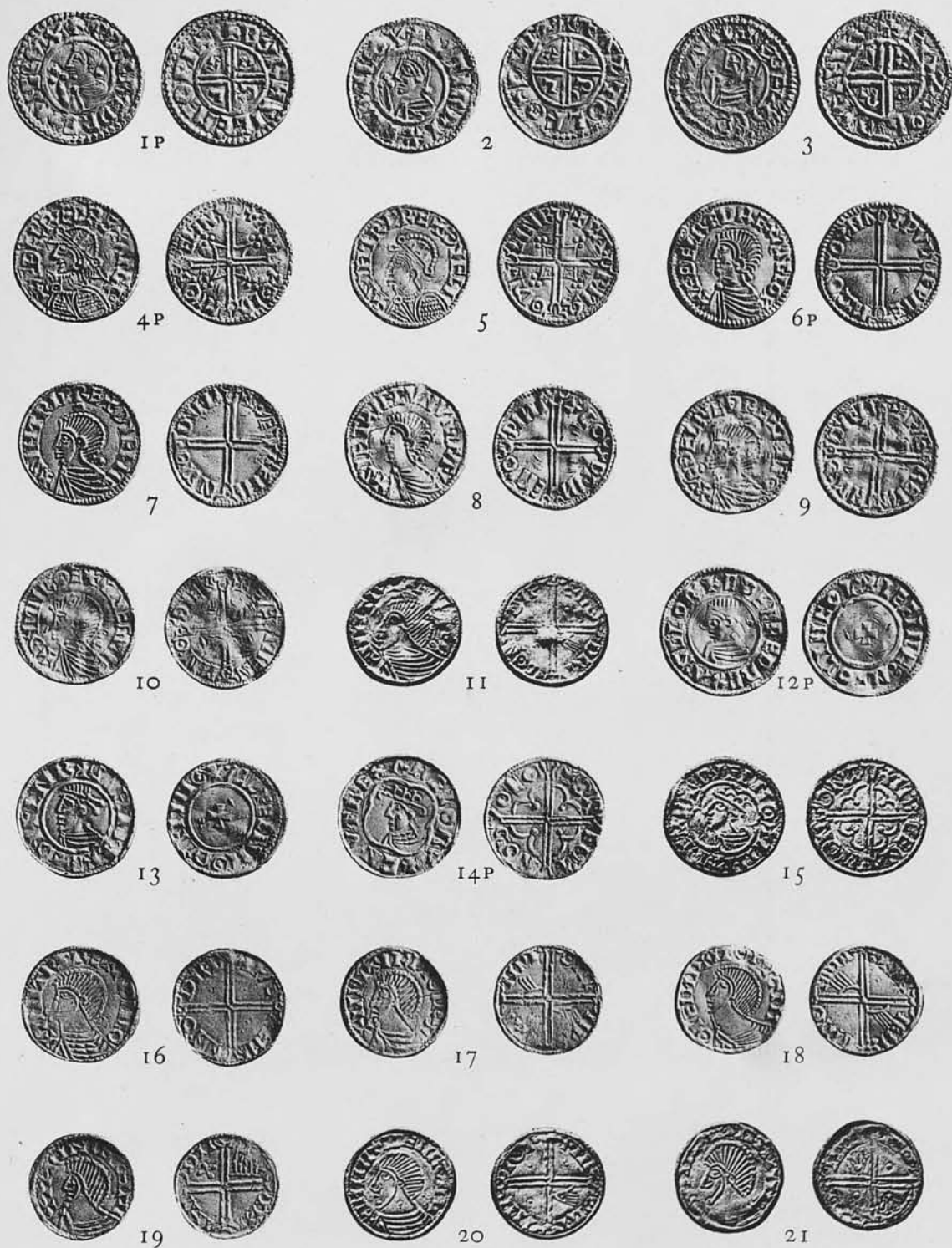
In no instance does it appear that any Anglo-Saxon types issued prior to the *crux* coinage of Æthelred II were copied in Ireland, in proof of which it should be noted that the distinctive "Hand of Providence" design of Æthelred II fails to make its appearance. A rude type of hand does occur on a later series of Hiberno-Danish coins of low weight and with meaningless inscriptions, but it is entirely different from the "Hand of Providence" of the Anglo-Saxon coins, and it never appears as a sole type. It is derived from a Danish issue. The first deduction which can be made is, therefore, the important one as to when the Hiberno-Danish coinage was initiated. Clearly, it is after the time when the "Hand of Providence" issue was in circulation in England, and as the immediately succeeding type, the *crux* issue, is in evidence on Hiberno-Danish coins, the issue of that type in England, or soon after, witnessed the inception of the coins of Ireland—cp. Plate I, 1, the Anglo-Saxon prototype, and Plate I, 2, the Hiberno-Danish imitation. In fact, it can be proved that all the nations of the North commenced a metallic medium of exchange with imitations of this Anglo-Saxon *crux* type, and at much the same time as each other, namely, in the last decade of the tenth century. The first King of Norway to issue a coinage<sup>1</sup> was Hakon the Bad, who was killed in A.D. 995, and it was based solely on the Anglo-Saxon *crux* type. The first King of Denmark to strike coins was Sweyn Forkbeard, A.D. 986–1014. His sole type is also based on the *crux* issue of England. The first monarch of Sweden to institute a coinage was Olaf Skötkonung, A.D. 995–1021 or 1022. Most of his coins follow the *crux* type. I have reason to believe that at least two other northern monarchs of the period instituted ephemeral coinages in imitation of the same Anglo-Saxon *crux* type.

In my article on the coin types of Æthelred II,<sup>2</sup> I gave reasons for suggesting that the time of issue of the *crux* type in Britain was

<sup>1</sup> *The Earliest Coins of Norway*, by H. Alexander Parsons, published by the American Numismatic Society in 1926.

<sup>2</sup> *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1910.





TYPES OF HIBERNO-DANISH AND PROTOTYPE (=P) COINS





in or just prior to A.D. 991.<sup>1</sup> It seems clear that the type is commemorative of the Danish raids of the time, and the trouble they brought on England. These raids first recommenced largely from the western islands, and there is little doubt that a proportion of the great Danegelt payment of A.D. 991 was participated in by many vikings from the west, which includes Ireland.

These Hiberno-Danish imitations of the *crux* type all bear inscriptions more or less intelligible, most of which read, on the obverse, +SITIR DIXFLMLTO = Sihtric, King of Dublin, Plate I, 2. The paramount Norse king in Ireland at the time was Sihtric Silkbeard, who reigned from A.D. 989 to 1029 or 1035, and to him, therefore, is due the credit of first introducing, into Ireland, a metallic medium of exchange. In addition to the *crux* coins of Dublin bearing the name of Sihtric, a few others, all apparently from the same die, Plate I, 3, and unpublished by Mr. Roth, slavishly copy the name of ÆTHELRED on the obverse, although a Dublin moneyer's name, and the Dublin mint-name, occur on the reverse. On one of Sihtric's *crux* coins the bust is, by a die-sinker's mistake, to the right instead of to the left (Roth, Plate I, 13).

The Dublin moneyers known of this *crux* issue are Arcetel, Ascetel, Fastolf, Lioelf, Reolece and Wulfgar. The latter is not given by Mr. Roth, but is in the British Museum. It has the name of Sihtric on the obverse. On the evidence of the prototype, this *crux* issue in Ireland belongs to the last decade of the tenth century. This is rendered certain by the date of Sihtric's accession to the throne of Dublin.

Although Mr. Roth places the imitations of the quatrefoil type of Æthelred II (Hildebrand E) long after a succession of indecipherable pieces of the Irish long-cross issue of low weight—nevertheless that the former are all of good weight and workmanship and bear intelligible legends—under the present writer's arrangement of the coins of Æthelred II this quatrefoil type

<sup>1</sup> This is virtually accepted by Mr. C. A. Nordman in his work on *Anglo-Saxon Coins found in Finland*, p. 31, published by the Finnish Archaeological Society in 1921.

succeeds the *crux* issue, and the imitations of it in Ireland should, therefore, follow those of the *crux* design. That they did so actually is, I think, indicated by the moneyers' names and by the absence of English town-names on this and on the preceding *crux* type, whereas on the imitations of the remaining types of Æthelred we get such names; also by the rarity of the coins, which is about the same as that of the *crux* imitations, whereas the imitations of Æthelred's two remaining types are of frequent occurrence; and by the fact that all the undoubted Irish imitations of the quatrefoil type invariably bear intelligible inscriptions.<sup>1</sup> For the Anglo-Saxon prototype, see Plate I, 4, and for the Hiberno-Danish imitation see Plate I, 5.

The Dublin moneyers of the quatrefoil type are Car, Eiomns, Fænemin, Færemín and Sivulf. The coins all belong to the reign of Sihtric Silkbeard, although some are inscribed on the obverse with the name of Æthelred. Their date is probably the very beginning of the eleventh century.

The imitations, in Ireland, of the Anglo-Saxon long-cross type follow those of the quatrefoil type, and so popular and constant did this become that it is as often as not called the "Irish" type, a description also alternatively given to the Anglo-Saxon prototype. The coins were, in Ireland, headed by a series of well-executed pieces of good weight and design (see Plate I, 6, for the Anglo-Saxon prototype, and Plate I, 7 to 11, for the first imitations). Plate I, 8, is a specially interesting and very rare instance of the use of the northern word, CUNUNG, for REX.

The names of the following Dublin moneyers occur on this first issue of well-struck intelligible long-cross coins: Car, Edric, Fænemin, Færemín, Ndremin, Godric, Goldstegen, Herm, Steng, Stireirn and Sivlt (Sivulf). Only such names as are clearly shown on the coins are given here. Those struck in conjunction with English mint-towns—which is a special feature of this and of the imitations of

<sup>1</sup> The coin of this type described as last of the series under Roth's number 181, and stated to have been found in Finland, is continental.

Æthelred's remaining type, that of the small-cross—are excluded, on the ground that they are merely slavish imitations, and do not represent actual moneyers working in Dublin.

On the evidence of the prototype, the long-cross or Irish type commenced approximately at the end of the first decade of the eleventh century, the type in England probably dating round about A.D. 1006.

The only two remaining types of coins struck in Dublin with intelligible inscriptions are imitations of Æthelred's small-cross issue and Cnut's quatrefoil type<sup>1</sup> (see Plate I, 12, for the Anglo-Saxon prototype, and Plate I, 13, for the Hiberno-Danish imitation of the small-cross issue, and Plate I, 14, for the Anglo-Saxon issue, and Plate I, 15, for the imitation of the quatrefoil type of Cnut). That the issue of the latter in Ireland came after the inception of the long-cross issue is a self-evident proposition; and that the small-cross issue does not come first in the Hiberno-Danish series, as it is placed by Mr. Roth, is proved by the fact that no coins of Dublin imitating Æthelred's "Hand of Providence" issue are in evidence. That it comes last is shown by the following Table of moneyers. The significance of the epigraphic change in England of M<sup>o</sup> to ON between the moneyers' and mint names was very largely lost in Ireland. In this respect the Dublin moneyers remained conservative, as was the case with some towns in England, especially those of the north, *e.g.* York and Lincoln. The coins of these towns would reach Ireland in larger numbers than specimens of the southern mints.

The Dublin moneyers of the Irish imitations of Æthelred's small-cross issue and Cnut's quatrefoil type are as follows:

Small-cross issue.—Ælfelm, Fænemin, Færemin and Ndremin.

Cnut's quatrefoil issue.—Stegn and Feremin.

The four readings of the last-mentioned type and moneyer, on p. 212 of Hildebrand, were unaccountably omitted by Mr. Roth.

<sup>1</sup> This is Type E in Hildebrand, but it can be shown to be the first real type of Cnut.

The moneyers' names on the four Dublin types imitating Æthelred's coins corroborate the sequence of the arrangement herein given, viz. in the order of Hildebrand C, E, D and A = Parsons' 2, 3, 4, and 5,<sup>1</sup> instead of Mr. Roth's disposition of the types in the order of Hildebrand A, C, D and E. This is demonstrated by the names of which specimens are known of at least two types, and which only can afford the necessary evidence.

They are as follows :—

B.—"Hand of Providence" Type.	C.— <i>Cruz</i> Type.	E.—Quatrefoil Type.	D.—"Long-Cross" Type.	A.—"Small-Cross" Type.
No Dublin coins known of the type	No moneyers common to other types	Car Fænemin Færemin Sivulf —	Car Fænemin Færemin Sivlt (Sivulf) Ndremín	— Fænemin Færemín — Ndremín

All these names appear on the coins quite clearly. I think there is little doubt that Fænemin and Færemín are two different names, having regard to their clarity and to their constant repetition on many coins and types.

It will be seen from the above table that there is a clear run of the names through my revised types, whereas, under Mr. Roth's arrangement, the following improbable combination would be evolved :—

A.—"Small-Cross" Type.	B.—"Hand of Providence" Type.	C.— <i>Cruz</i> Type.	D.—"Long-Cross" Type.	E.—Quatrefoil Type.
— Fænemin Færemín — Ndremín	No Dublin coins known of the type	No moneyers common to other types	Car Fænemin Færemín Sivlt (Sivulf) Ndremín	Car Fænemin Færemín Sivulf —

<sup>1</sup> "The Coins of Æthelred II," *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1910.

It is a significant fact that all the moneyers cited above are not only associated with the Dublin mint-name, but appear to be, with the possible exception of Car, exclusively Hiberno-Danish, being unknown on Anglo-Saxon and continental Danish coins. The moneyer Car comes in the same category if it is not an abbreviation of Carla, Carel, or Carig. Having regard to the small size of the three latter names, which renders abbreviation unnecessary, quite probably Car is the full name, more especially as the contemporary name of Dublin, viz. Dyflin, is also not a long one. The fact of these names being exclusively Hiberno-Danish conclusively proves that the coins on which they appear are not mere copies of names on the Anglo-Saxon prototypes, but that they were struck by native Dublin moneyers held responsible for their work by the striking of their names on the coins. The evidence for the sequence of the types shown by the run of these moneyers' names is, therefore, very striking.

No Hiberno-Danish coins imitating Cnut's second Anglo-Saxon Type—the Pointed Helmet issue, Hildebrand G—are extant, the one coin of this type in Roth, number 191, being, as already explained, a continental coin. This fact makes it clear that the intelligible coins of good weight ceased to be struck in Ireland by the time of the issue of Cnut's Pointed Helmet type in England. The period of circulation of this type in England was, on the evidence of the Swedish money of Cnut,<sup>1</sup> brought to a close before A.D. 1027. How long before is a problem to be solved in connection with the contemporary English coinage, but it is evident that all the intelligible coinages of Dublin in the Hiberno-Danish period belong solely to the reign of Sihtric Silkbeard, who died in A.D. 1042, although he does not appear to have held the throne of Dublin later than A.D. 1035, if so long.

Before leaving these well-struck imitations of Anglo-Saxon types, which all come into Sihtric's regnal period, reference should be made to certain specimens of all the types enumerated, upon which appear

<sup>1</sup> "Some Coins of Sigtuna inscribed with the names of Æthelred, Cnut and Harthacnut," *British Numismatic Journal*, 1915.



the names of Æthelred or Cnut, as the case may be, instead of Sihtric, cp. Plate I, 9, for a specimen bearing the name of Æthelred. So far as the long-cross or Irish type is concerned, specimens also exist formerly ascribed to a Donald, King of Monaghan, but of more recent years allocated to an unknown King ðymn, Plate I, 10. In connection with the first two kinds of inscriptions, those having the names of Æthelred and Cnut, I think there can be little doubt that as the Saxon designs of the relative coins were slavishly copied, so also were the obverse inscriptions, and instead of placing on the coins the name of their reigning prince, the die-sinkers of Sihtric copied the legends of the prototype as well as the designs, and so introduced the names of Æthelred and Cnut on Irish coins. In proof of this, it is certain that, whatever Cnut might have claimed as paramount King of the North, Æthelred II had no jurisdiction in Ireland. The charter upon which is founded a claim that Eadgar, his father, was lord over Ireland is, beyond question, a forgery, and although, in an expedition against the Northmen of Cumbria and the Isle of Man in A.D. 1000, Æthelred punished the marauders of those districts, he went no further than this, for he was soon called upon to deal with an enemy combination in the south, and immediately after the Isle of Man expedition went in hostile array to Normandy.

That these Irish coins, bearing the names of Æthelred and Cnut, are merely the result of imitation carried to mechanical excess, is also proved by the existence of pieces which, although struck, on the obverse, with the name of Sihtric, bear, on the reverse, the names of English towns and English moneyers. Plate I, 8, is an illustration. The reverse reads +GODPINE M'O PINT. No shred of evidence exists that Sihtric Silkbeard, however powerful he might have been in Ireland, had the slightest authority in England, and it cannot be argued that he placed his orders for coins in those towns, for the system of die-making at the time is against this. Neither can it be considered that some English die-sinkers were in his service, for the workmanship of the Anglo-Saxon coins is, as a rule, quite distinct in feeling from Sihtric's issues. As in the case

of the slavish imitation of the Æthelred and Cnut inscriptions of the obverses, so the cause of the introduction, on Irish coins, of these English mint-towns is due to mechanical imitation of the reverses. The die-maker in Dublin simply had in front of him, for guidance, Saxon coins with these names upon them, and he copied them without noticing, or troubling about, the lack of appositeness.

The reason for the insertion, on some of the long-cross type coins, of the name of ðYMN is not so easy of explanation. The coins clearly come into the series of the Sihtric intelligible issues, and must belong to that period. Some of them bear the name of Sihtric's well-known and common moneyers Færemin and Fænemin. Having regard to the high grade of work of the coins, as a whole, and to the certain fact that they belong to Sihtric's time and to Sihtric's city, my alternative suggestion is that ðYMN indicates Dublin, at the time known as DYFLIM, and frequently shown on the coins as DYFLMN. The crossed ð is also not unknown on coins where the word can be no other than Dublin, *e.g.* on the reverse of a penny of Sihtric reading +ÆLFELM MO ðYFELI, but almost conclusive proof of this new proposition is afforded by the coin figured below—



A PENNY OF DUBLIN, READING "ðMN." (R. C. LOCKETT COLLECTION.)

which on the obverse reads +SIHTRE REÐX ðMN = Sihtric, King of Dublin. A similar abbreviation of the name of Dublin also occurs on some of these ðymn coins, *viz.*—number 13, p. 76, in Mr. Roth's monograph, which has an obverse inscription of ðMN ROEDER MNO. On these ðymn coins a usual word following the letters ROE+ is MNEELMI. This reading is closely associated with a common form of obverse inscription on Sihtric's coins ending MO for MONETA, *e.g.* SIHTRIC RE+ DYFLN MO, *i.e.* King Sihtric's Dublin money. A still closer analogy is furnished by coin number 88, on p. 67 of



Mr. Roth's work which, on the reverse, reads +SIHLO DIL MIELMI, *i.e.* Sihtric's Dublin money. The obverse of the coin reads +SIHTRE RE + DYFLN for Sihtric, King of Dublin. These analogies are so close that I think we are justified in interpreting the reading ðYMN ROE + MNEELMI, and variations, on this ðymn coinage, as the Dublin king's money.

The history of the Norse kingdom of Dublin at the time of the coins would not be opposed to such an explanation. Both before and after this period, the Dublin kings were often temporarily displaced, and Sihtric himself does not appear to have retained the regnal office to the end of his life. The whole period is one of extreme confusion and, what with native Irish antagonism—and successful antagonism, for the ðymn coins were certainly struck within ten years before or after the battle of Clontarf, in A.D. 1014—and what with internal strife, a time when an inscription of "the Dublin King's money" was suitable and applicable could easily have occurred in the history of the colony. That looseness of royal control existed in the Dublin mint is evidenced by the presence of the names of Æthelred and Cnut on the obverses and of English town names on the reverses of the Dublin coinage. I see less reason for inserting the names of Æthelred and Cnut on the coinage, than the stamping of an inscription meaning "the Dublin King's money." In fact, the latter is obviously far more applicable.

Although with the end of Sihtric's reign we quit the era of coins definitely attributable to Norse kings in Ireland, it is possible to divide the remaining body of numismatic remains of that people and country into quite distinct periods, based upon the designs and workmanship and, more especially, upon the weights of the coins. Owing to the absence of any intelligible legends, I place the weight-test as of first importance at and from this period, because of the economic fact that the weight of a coin would be the prime factor in its retention or otherwise in currency. As regards this test, the ranges of weights given will be general. Isolated specimens in each of the weight groups may be outside the range given for the groups, but these exceptions do not invalidate the general rule.

The era of intelligible coins was, as will have been seen, on the evidence of type-imitation, brought to a close at the earliest in about A.D. 1020, and latest in about A.D. 1030, and immediately following it there was continued a series of coins of the long-cross or Irish type, which discloses a considerable amount of trueness to type, and was fairly bold in workmanship. The Norse moneyers seem to have made this type peculiarly their own, and when they, for a time, ceased to imitate Anglo-Saxon types—for none of the later types of Cnut and of the types of Harold I and Harthacnut were imitated by them—they took for inspiration the most frequent of the types with intelligible legends circulating in their country, viz. the long-cross issue, and made that the basis of imitation for a long period. In fact they never wholly relinquished it. The coins following the era of intelligible legends have also many well-formed letters in the inscriptions, Plate I, 16, but these letters are, with a few rare exceptions, so mixed or imperfect, especially in the later coins (cp. Plate I, 17), as to render the legends meaningless. With one or two unauthorized deviations, the weights of the coins show a very decided drop from the standard of the previous issues, and vary from 10 to 15 grains. These weights follow the lowering of the weight of the coins in the contemporary Anglo-Saxon issues. After the first real issue of Cnut, Hildebrand E, up to and including the primary types of Edward the Confessor, the average weight of Anglo-Saxon coins runs only to 16 or 17 grains each.

A special feature marks most of the specimens of this period of unintelligible Hiberno-Danish coins. It is that on the reverse now appears a distinctive design, generally in two quarters, of what has been called a branched hand containing 3, 4, 5, or 6 fingers (Plate I, 17, 18, and 19). I do not think that there is real justification for continuing this description. Quite apart from the fact that on some of the coins the object has only 3 or 4, and on some 6, members, instead of the 5 necessary for a hand, there occur side by side with these coins others which bear quite a realistic presentation of a small open hand. Those coming at the beginning of the period disclose this appendage on the reverse in one quarter with

the thumb shown in its proper size and position, and with a clearly defined palm and wrist (Plate I, 20). This coin is closely associated both by workmanship and weight with Plate I, 11, which was probably the last of the long-cross coins to be struck at Dublin with intelligible inscriptions. Plate I, 20, was followed later in the period by coins illustrated by Plate I, 21, which disclose a small hand of rather ruder work, which is the general characteristic of the coins, in each of two quarters of the reverse. If the branch-like objects shown in Plate I, 17, 18, and 19, were intended to represent hands, they would be of the clear type shown on the coins of their period as represented in Plate I, 20 and 21. If any further demonstration of this is required, it is supplied by Plate II, 22, on which a clear hand showing the back appears on the neck, with the branch-like objects, as usual, on the reverse. These latter therefore clearly indicate something different from a human hand. The same conclusion was arrived at by Dr. Aquilla Smith<sup>1</sup> when contrasting the hand shown on the obverse of our Plate II, 23, with the branch-like objects on its reverse.

The clearly marked hand introduced on the obverse in front of the bust (Plate II, 23) is an idea taken from a similar design on some of Harthacnut's coins of Denmark (Plate II, 24). Counting his rule in Denmark during his father's lifetime, Harthacnut reigned there from A.D. 1028 to A.D. 1042. The Hiberno-Danish coins with the hand on the obverse, therefore, on this ground come into a period not earlier than 1028 and not later than a few years after 1042. The coins of the 10-grain to 15-grain period we are now considering are also noticeable for the numerous subsidiary marks, such as pellets, annulets, and crosses, scattered over the field of the obverse, or reverse, or both. They do not, in my opinion, have any special meaning as is undoubtedly the case of symbols on the Anglo-Saxon and Norman prototype coinages. They should, it is thought, be regarded as the effect of slavish imitation and the play of fancy on the part of illiterate die-sinkers. Some of the objects appear on

<sup>1</sup> "The Human Hand on Hiberno-Danish coins," *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1883.



22



23



24P



25



26



27P



28



29



30P



31I



32



33



34P



35



36



37



38



39P



40



41I



42





the metal ornaments of the time. Generally speaking, the bust on the long-cross type coins of this period is to left, but on a few rare exceptions it is cut to right (Plate II, 32; also numbers 117, 137, 156, 157, and 161 in Mr. Roth's article).

The circulation of the Hiberno-Danish coins under notice certainly lasted several years into the reign of Edward the Confessor in England, and this is demonstrated, not only by the absence of imitation in Ireland of the late types of Cnut, and of the issues of Harold I and Harthacnut, but also by the composition of the Dunbrody (Wexford) find of 1837. This hoard contained over 1,000 pennies of Edward the Confessor, several of each of the kings Harold I and Harthacnut, and some hundreds of the Hiberno-Danish series. These latter appear to have been all of the long-cross type under notice. From the meagre details known of this hoard, the first three real types of Edward the Confessor were certainly in evidence. This excludes the ephemeral or interim Harthacnut type. On the analogy of other hoards of coins of Edward the Confessor, probably that of Dunbrody included two further types of Edward at the most. The Hiberno-Danish coins we are now considering appear, therefore, on the various grounds mentioned above, to range from about A.D. 1025 or 1030 to A.D. 1050. During the later years two noticeable variations were adopted. The first was the introduction of a crozier-like object in front of the bust (Plate II, 25), and the second combines a similar kind of obverse with a reverse of the small-cross design (Plate II, 26). This latter is evidently taken from the first small-cross issue in England of Edward the Confessor (Plate II, 27) assigned by Major Carlyon-Britton to the years 1042-5.<sup>1</sup>

Although all unintelligible, the earlier coins of this period disclose fairly distinct traces of the elements of the name of Sihtric (Plate I, 16), and this links the issue on to the period of intelligible coins, which probably ceased to be struck between A.D. 1020 and A.D. 1030. At the other extreme, the legends are composed almost entirely of straight strokes (Plate II, 23, 25, and 26). These earlier coins, with

<sup>1</sup> "Edward the Confessor and his coins," *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1905.



the elements of Sihtric's name on them, must have been issued at the end of the reign of Sihtric Silkbeard, and they were the first step in the degradation of coin design, and of the weight standard, in Ireland, which ensued after the first abandonment of imitation of current Anglo-Saxon types. The Hiberno-Danish die-sinkers now evidently selected specimens of the well-struck intelligible native imitations of the long-cross type mainly in circulation (Plate I, 7 to 11), and imitated them instead of the Anglo-Saxon issues of the time. The imitations being lighter than the preceding currency, speedily drove out the latter, and were left as a sole type in the period between 1025 and 1050 named above. As a result, the coins of good weight and with intelligible inscriptions are all rare, and this is especially the case with the *crux* and quatrefoil types which come first.

It is evident that a new era of weight-reduction occurs in the Hiberno-Danish coinage about A.D. 1050. The coins are not reduced in size, except at the end of the period, but are of more slender fabric. Some of them appear also to be of baser metal. At first the influence of the long-cross or Irish type of design maintained its ground on coins illustrated by Plate II, 28, which, on the obverse, repeated the Irish bust with the crozier-like sceptre in front. The reverse, however, introduces a new and characteristic type in the form of a cross-botonée in two of the angles, and of a trefoil of pellets in the other two quarters. A variation of this is noticeable in Plate II, 29, whereon the crozier-like object is placed on the neck.

Several other distinctive types occur in this period, and they serve to indicate the approximate limits of it. The first presents imitations of the martlet device on the coins of Edward the Confessor (Plate II, 30), which would be known and seen in Ireland before A.D. 1060. Plate II, 31 and 32, illustrate this new departure, but it will be seen that the conventional "Irish" type of obverse is maintained. Plate II, 33, still follows the martlet design on the reverse, but introduces a new type on the obverse, which consists of a full-face bust, the inspiration of which is probably derived from the only full-face type of the late-Saxon period, viz. Edward the Confessor's







43



44



45



46



47



48P



49P



50



51



52



53



54P



55



56P



57



58P



59



60P



61



62



63



type 10<sup>1</sup> (Plate II, 34). Beyond the fact that both designs are full-face ones, there is, however, little in common between the Saxon prototype and the Irish imitation. Coins similar to Plate II, 35, are connected with those like Plate II, 33, but eliminate the martlet, whilst coins illustrated by Plate II, 37, are connected with Figs. 33 and 35 by their identical obverses. A continuation of the full-face type, although varied, occurs in coins illustrated by Plate II, 36, and a new type belonging to the period, and inspired from continental Danish sources, is illustrated by Plate II, 38. The obverse depicts the Irish bust of the period, but with various large ornaments on the neck; and on the reverse there is a sort of expanded quatrefoil, like the well-known Danish type of Swend Estridsen, A.D. 1047-75 (Plate II, 39). A variation of this reverse is to be seen in Plate II, 40, on which the quatrefoil is closed at the ends. This reverse links on to an issue of coins of small module, but of the same weight, represented by Plate II, 41. This in turn is, by its obverse with the hand on the neck, linked on to coins illustrated by Plate II, 42, and Plate III, 43 and 44. The reverse of Plate III, 44, is connected with the issue of coins represented by Plate III, 45 and 46, which latter commence a new period on the ground of their increased weight and size.

Notwithstanding the variety of design of the period just dealt with, I am not of opinion that any real division of the coins amongst the kings of Dublin of the time can be made. The designs are not only more crude than those of the preceding period (cp. Plate II, 28-42, and Plate III, 43-44, with Plate I, 16-21, and Plate II, 22-26), but the inscriptions are, in every case, quite frankly reduced to mere strokes. The rude departures from type are simply evidence of the weakness and lack of control over the coinage of the time. The weight of the pieces again seems to be the proper basis of separation from preceding and succeeding periods. In this period these weights reach the lowest ebb of decay in the Hiberno-Danish coinage, generally descending to the level of from 5 to 10 grains, although a few go a little above. On the basis of type-imitation of

<sup>1</sup> "Edward the Confessor and his coins," *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1905.

both Anglo-Saxon and Danish coins, I would place the period we have been considering to approximately A.D. 1050-65.

The next period of the Hiberno-Danish coinage is marked by an improvement in the weight standard, for the coins run from 10 to 15 grains. They are also brought back to their ordinary size, as pointed out in connection with Plate III, 45 and 46, which probably commenced the series. That the other issues I am now about to describe were struck after A.D. 1065 is evident from the prototypes, which are to be sought in the coinages of Harold II, William I and William II; but they are generally made up of hybrid designs which, in conjunction with their variety, make it probable that there was no regularly authorized succession in the issues, the dies being cut with designs just as fancy dictated them to the die-sinkers and limited only by the prototypes which were available for suggestion. Hence, although the types are numerous, a period of issue based not upon the succession of kings, but upon the general weight, is again the only certain method of division.

Harold II's *pax* type is imitated, so far as the reverse is concerned, on coins represented by Plate III, 47, as will be seen from the prototype (Plate III, 48), but, on the obverse, the Irish type of bust still holds its ground, as was the case with the coins represented by Plate III, 45 and 46.

The first recognizable Norman coinage imitated in Ireland is William I's type III (Plate III, 49), which inspired the imitations represented by Plate III, 50, for the reverse, and by Plate III, 51, for the obverse. The obverse of Plate III, 50, links the issue to coins represented by Plate III, 52, whilst the reverse of the latter, with the characteristic branch-like object in one quarter, shows that there is a near connection with coins of the preceding weight-period A.D. 1050-65. The reverse of Plate III, 51, also indicates the same fact by its similarity to the reverse of Plate II, 31. But its obverse design and weight brings it into the period after A.D. 1065. The reverse of Plate III, 52, links up with the issue of coins represented by Plate III, 53, on the obverse of which appears a design comparable with the pennies of William I, type V (Plate III, 54). The issue

of coins represented by Plate III, 53, is connected with those represented by Plate III, 55, by the identical obverses. The reverse of Plate III, 55, has something of the appearance of the *paxs* type VIII of William I (Plate III, 56), of which a decided Hiberno-Danish copy appears in the unique coin represented by Plate III, 57. In the meantime, or concurrently with the latter, there appears an issue of Hiberno-Danish coins represented by Plate III, 59, clearly copied from William I's type IV (Plate III, 58). The only other recognizable Norman type is represented by coins illustrated as Plate III, 61, which has fairly clear points of resemblance with Plate III, 60, the prototype, which is William II's type II.

The coins of the period we are now considering may have resulted from an attempt to restore the integrity of the money of Dublin, but it seemingly failed, for extremely few pieces have come down to our times. Some of the types enumerated above are, indeed, represented only by single specimens. Plate III, 61, being an imitation of a penny of William II's second coinage in England, proves that this period lasted to about A.D. 1090-95, and the absence of copies of the subsequent English types indicates that the Hiberno-Danish coinage practically ended then.

To the few years following, however, and immediately prior to the introduction of the bracteate money of the twelfth century, I would attribute the coins similar to those illustrated by Plate III, 62 and 63; also a further specimen, still more crude, figured in Simon<sup>1</sup> as No. 2 on the editor's additional plate. They are all of extremely rude workmanship, even for the Hiberno-Danish coinage, and some are even without strokes for the legends, a feature which connects them with the bracteate issue. Although, generally speaking, the weight of these coins might justify placing them in the period A.D. 1050-65, their abnormally large size, and the absence, in some cases, of strokes, not to speak of letters, for the legends, render an attribution to that period improbable. These features, indeed, place them in a category of their own and, in these particulars, as well as by weight, they

<sup>1</sup> *Essay on Irish Coins*, 1810.

are similar to the bracteate money of the twelfth century. The evidence is therefore strong that they immediately precede that curious issue, which was, in the twelfth century, not only a feature of the Hiberno-Norse currency, but also of that of Norway itself.

As a result of the arguments advanced in the foregoing pages we arrive at the following conclusions :—

1. The first independent coinage of Ireland, so far known, commenced in the last decade of the tenth century, and was struck in Dublin<sup>1</sup> under the Hiberno-Danish king, Sihtric Silkbeard. It was an imitation of the *crux* type of Æthelred II (Plate I, 2 and 3). Sihtric Silkbeard was made king in Dublin in A.D. 989, dethroned for a time and restored in A.D. 994. He died A.D. 1042. He does not, however, appear to have reigned later than A.D. 1029 or possibly, according to some authorities, A.D. 1035. His coinages are divisible into five distinct types (Plate I, 2, 5, 7, 13, and 15). They are composed of coins of good weight and workmanship, which all bear more or less intelligible inscriptions. They come to an end between A.D. 1025 and A.D. 1030.

2. Coinages subsequent to those of Sihtric Silkbeard are all without intelligible inscriptions, although some of the early ones bear the elements of Sihtric's name on the obverse. These subsequent coinages are divisible into four periods based on the weights of the coins, as follows :—

- (a) Coins of weights ranging from 10 to 15 grains each, and issued probably from about A.D. 1025 or 1030 to A.D. 1050 (Plate I, 16 to 21, and Plate II, 22, 23, 25, and 26).
- (b) Coins of weights ranging from 5 to 10 grains each, and issued from about A.D. 1050 to A.D. 1065 (Plate II, 28

<sup>1</sup> I can trace no evidence that any coins were struck in the Norse settlements of Wexford, Waterford and Cork. Limerick had certainly passed to the control of the native Irish before the date of the earliest Dublin money.



and 29, 31 to 33, 35 to 38, 40 to 42, and Plate III, 43 and 44).

(c) Coins of weights ranging from 10 to 15 grains each, and issued from about A.D. 1065 to A.D. 1095 (Plate III, 45, 46, 47, 50 to 53, 55, 57, 59 and 61).

(d) Coins of large module, but of low and very variable weight, approximating to the bracteate issue, struck perhaps for a few years after A.D. 1095 (Plate III, 62 and 63).

Applying the conclusions arrived at above to the coins described by Mr. Roth in vol. VI of the *Journal*, except of course those of continental origin already dealt with, the periods of issue of those coins are as shown in the Appendix. This list, if consulted in conjunction with the detailed description of the coins in Mr. Roth's article, and the generous array of plates illustrating it, will enable students and collectors to ascribe similar coins to their proper chronological periods.

The coins used in illustration of this paper are in the following cabinets. My thanks are due to the Institutions and collectors mentioned for the kindly help afforded. It would have been impossible adequately to demonstrate the sequence of the issues without the aid which the complete set of illustrations affords.

The British Museum ...	...	...	Numbers 15 and 41.
The late Mr. L. E. Bruun ...	...	..	20, 21, 45, 46, 53 and 59.
Mr. R. Carlyon-Britton ...	...	..	5, 22, 26, 37, 38, 42, 43, 50 and 55.
The Copenhagen Royal Collection ...	..	..	33, 35 and 40.
Mr. R. C. Lockett ...	...	..	31, 61 and 62.
Mr. H. A. Parsons ...	...	..	1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 14, 16, 17, 18, 19, 23, 27, 28, 30, 32, 34, 36, 39, 44, 47, 48, 49, 52, 54, 56, 57, 58, 60 and 63.
The Royal Irish Academy ...	...	..	25, 29 and 51.
The Stockholm Royal Collection ...	...	Number	11.
Mr. E. H. Wheeler ...	...	..	24.

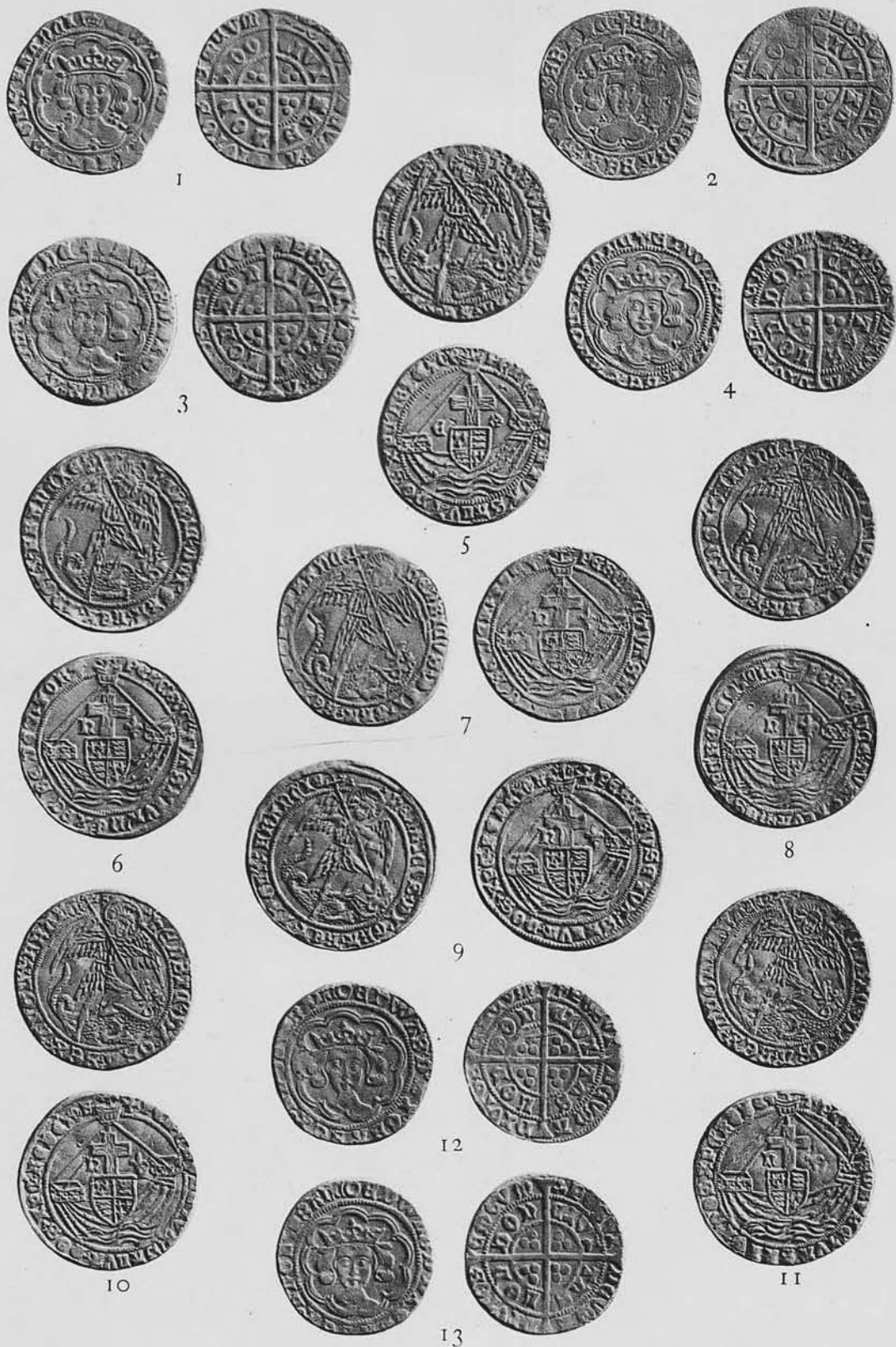


## APPENDIX.

CHRONOLOGICAL ARRANGEMENT OF THE HIBERNO-DANISH COINS FIGURED ON  
PLATES I TO X IN VOL. VI OF THIS JOURNAL.

Period— Approximate Dates.	Type or Weight.	Numbers of the Coins given in Vol. vi, pp. 55—146.
A.D. 995–1000 ...	<i>Crux</i> type ...	9, 13.
A.D. 1000–1005 ...	Quatrefoil type ...	181.
A.D. 1005–1015 ...	Long-cross type ...	16, 19, 20, 21, 22, 24, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 35, 36, 37, 39, 40, 45, 46, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 56, 57, 58, 59, 62, 63, 64, 141.
A.D. 1015–1020 ...	Small-cross type ...	1.
A.D. 1020–1025 ...	Cnut type ...	189.
A.D. 1025–1050 ...	Weight, 10–15 grains ...	3, 7, 23, 38, 41, 42, 43, 44, 47, 55, 60, 61, 65, 66, 71, 72, 73, 76, 78, 79, 81, 84, 85, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 140, 148, 149, 150, 151, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164.
A.D. 1050–1065 ...	Weight, 5–10 grains ...	6, 34, 67, 68, 69, 70, 86, 87, 116, 117, 137, 138, 139, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 152, 165, 166, 167, 168, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 216, 217, 219, 220, 221, 222, 232, 233.
A.D. 1065–1095 ...	Weight, 10–15 grains ...	4, 5, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 197, 198, 199, 200, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 218, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231.
A.D. 1095–1100 ...	Bracteate type... ...	180, 188, 223, 224, 225, 226, 234.
All periods ...	Alien or doubtful Irish types	2, 8, 10, 11, 12, 14, 15, 17, 18, 25, 74, 75, 77, 80, 82, 83, 88, 142, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 201, 207, 215 and 235 to 242.






COINS OF EDWARD IV AND HENRY VI ILLUSTRATING THE SEQUENCE OF MINT-MARKS  
PRECEDING, DURING AND SUCCEEDING THE RESTORATION OF HENRY VI

THE SEQUENCE OF MINT-MARKS PRECEDING, DURING,  
AND SUCCEEDING THE RESTORATION OF  
HENRY VI.

BY RAYMOND C. CARLYON-BRITTON.

 WILL begin my remarks by referring to two groats of Edward IV, of his first regnal period, which are in my collection. Their main features to be noticed for our present purpose are :—

A. Obverse :—Mint-mark crown, quatrefoil either side of neck, quatrefoil on breast cusp.

Reverse :—Mint-mark rose, reads **QVITVS LORDEO** (*sic*).  
[Plate No. 1.]

B. Obverse :—Mint-mark cross No. 1 (*i.e.* long-tailed cross fitchée, *see* subsequent remarks), trefoil either side of neck.

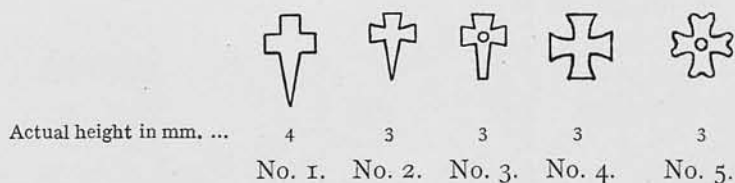
Reverse :—Mint-mark rose, **QVITVS LORDEO** (*sic*), from same die as reverse of A. [Plate, No. 2.]

The first coin, A, although having different mint-marks on obverse and reverse, is not a mule, the combination of crown and rose and a quatrefoil on the breast being the mint-mark of the issue. Similarly in coin B, the use of two mint-marks is not due to muling, but represents another distinct issue. The

groat B, however, happens to be actually a mule, the same reverse die having been used as in the striking of groat A. The blundering of the mint-name on this reverse die therefore presents us with an obvious and valuable clue, and we get the sequence of mint-marks :—

1. Obverse :—Crown, quatrefoil on breast.  
Reverse :—Rose.
2. Obverse :—Cross No. 1 (long-cross fitchée).  
Reverse :—Rose.

Before continuing the sequence of mint-marks, however, I think it best to refer here to the five forms of the cross mint-mark which are found in use during the period under discussion. They are figured below :—



FORMS OF THE CROSS MINT-MARK.

*Cross No. 1* is the long-cross fitchée occurring on the groat No. 2 referred to above. It is 4 mm. long, as compared with the 3 mm. of the four succeeding forms of cross, and pierces the inner circle. Mr. F. A. Walters, F.S.A., in *Numismatic Chronicle*, 4th series, vol. ix, p. 179, states that this form of the cross fitchée is pierced. I have not shown it pierced in the figure, as I have not myself seen an example showing the piercing. [Plate, No. 2.]

*Cross No. 2*, or the short-cross fitchée. It is much neater and smaller than cross No. 1, and is well confined *within* the inner circles.

*Cross No. 3*, or cross fitchée pierced with tail cut off. This cross occurs on some very rare coins of Edward IV immediately preceding the restoration of Henry VI, and on the *reverse* only of a few restoration groats of Henry VI (probably Edward IV dies used for the sake of economy). It has been confused with cross No. 5, or the "Restoration cross." It is really quite different when well-struck representations of each are compared, but in poorly struck examples is not always easy to identify with certainty. In cross No. 3 the lower limb tapers inwards slightly and has a square-cut base; whereas, in cross No. 5, or the "Restoration cross," the lower arm expands outwards, and all the limb ends are indented and more or less floriated. [Plate, No. 5.]

*Cross No. 4*, or Maltese cross. This cross is very wide compared with the other forms enumerated and patée. It is only found on some of the restoration coins of Henry VI. [Plate, No. 9.]

*Cross No. 5*, or the "Restoration cross." See remarks above in dealing with cross No. 3. It is found on coins of Henry VI's restoration period and on a few of the earliest of Edward IV's second regnal-period coins. [Plate, No. 10.] A variation of this cross occurs; it is a very rough-looking production, with the upright very thin. I have not figured it or specially noted it in the series, but possibly it should be included.

To return to the sequence of mint-marks, the next is also a combination of two marks, namely:—

Obverse:—Cross No. 1.

Reverse:—Sun.

This is followed by yet another combination mint-mark:—

Obverse:—Cross No. 2.

Reverse:—Sun.

Mr. L. A. Lawrence, in *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. viii, p. 155, tells us that he only knows of one coin, presumably a groat, bearing the cross-fitchée mint-mark on both sides. This is in the Fox cabinet. I have not seen the coin, but think it may be the same as my coin with cross No. 3 mint-mark both sides. [Plate, No. 4.] If, however, the mint-mark is either cross Nos. 1 or 2, its place could no doubt be determined by careful examination of detail.

The B-like R's were first used with the introduction of the cross No. 1 mint-mark by Edward IV: they continued in use until and during the restoration, and for some little while after Edward's return to the throne.

The cross No. 3 mint-mark occurs, on true coins as distinguished from mules, so far as I know, only upon my groat [Plate, No. 4], where it is found on either side, and upon a hitherto unpublished angel in my father's collection [Plate, No. 5], where it is found on the obverse only. The coin in the Fox cabinet referred to above may be another example. The angel found at Park Street, St. Albans—cf. *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. viii, p. 155—Mr. Lawrence tells us, has the cross No. 5, or "Restoration cross" mint-mark, but it may be similar to my father's, *i.e.* cross No. 3. No doubt a few more specimens will be forthcoming upon careful examination of these cross-marked coins. This mint-mark was evidently that in use immediately preceding Henry's restoration, and judging by its scarcity had only been introduced but a short time before that event. It was this angel that served as pattern for those minted by Henry VI, which in type exactly resemble it.

#### RESTORATION OF HENRY VI.

The following series of six angels in my father's collection, which are all connected by muling of dies, cover the series of mint-marks during this period. The essential points can be tabulated as follows.



Mint-mark.				
Obverse.		Reverse.		
1. None.	Lys at end of legend	..		[Plate, No. 6.] Same reverse die as 2.
2. None.	Lys at end of legend	..		[Plate, No. 7.] Same obverse die as 3. Same reverse die as 1.
3. None.	None	..	..	[Plate, No. 8.] Same obverse die as 2.
4. None.	Cross No. 4	..	..	[Plate, No. 9.] Same reverse die as 5.
5. None.	Cross No. 5	..	..	[Plate, No. 10.] Same obverse die as 6. Same reverse die as 4.
6. None.	Cross No. 5	..	..	[Plate, No. 11.] Same obverse die as 5.

The angels Nos. 1 and 2 with mint-mark lys have been attributed to York, but the muling with No. 3 having no mint-mark either side, together with the existence of the London groats with mint-mark lys on the reverse, seems to dispose of this attribution. Should any gold coins of York be found, I venture to think they will have **a** in the waves. The quantity coined must have been small, so their absence is not altogether remarkable. The same remarks apply to Edward IV post-restoration gold coins of York, of which none have so far been discovered. The amount coined was rather less than half that coined at Bristol, of which mint, I believe, only two angels are known.

## EDWARD IV—SECOND REGNAL PERIOD.

The cross No. 5 seems to have been the last mint-mark in use at London under Henry VI. The following early mules occur among the groats immediately after Edward's return to power:—

Mint-mark.	
Obverse.	Reverse.
Cross No. 5 ..	.. Trefoil.
Cross No. 5 ..	.. Small annulet.
Large annulet	.. Cross No. 5. [Plate, No. 12.]
Large annulet	.. Trefoil. [Plate, No. 13.]
Small annulet	.. Trefoil.

I have not seen an example with the same mint-mark on both sides of the three mint-marks, cross No. 5, large annulet or trefoil. The coins on which these marks occur are all very scarce. So far as we know from the accident of discovery, the trefoil as a mint-mark during the restoration of Henry VI was only used at Bristol, and then never on both sides of the same coin, although it does occur in conjunction with the slipped trefoil, which, however, is presumably quite a distinct mint-mark.

These groats do not appear to me to be issues bearing combination mint-marks, but to be purely the result of indiscriminate muling of dies. Tentatively, I would suggest the order should be cross No. 5, trefoil, large annulet (if these last two can be called substantive marks). Then, of course, follow small annulet, annulet enclosing pellet, etc. There seems no reason why a cross No. 5 marked angel of Edward IV should not exist, except possibly the fact that no silver coin with this mint-mark on both sides has yet been noticed. My father formerly had two angels with a cross mint-mark at the beginning of the obverse legend; whether this cross was of No. 3 or No. 5 form neither he nor I know.

In the above, no attempt has been made to go into any detail as to stops, etc., which would appear to sub-divide the issues still further, possibly into distinguishable quarterly issues for pyx trial

purposes ; neither have I attempted here to deal with the sequence of the mint-marks at the provincial mints.

For the convenience of readers who may possibly wish to refer again to what has been previously written concerning the points touched upon above, Mr. F. A. Walters's monograph on the coins of the period is contained in *Numismatic Chronicle*, iv S., vols. ix, x and xiv, and the contributions of Mr. L. A. Lawrence appear in *Numismatic Chronicle*, iii S, vol. xi ; *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. i and vol. viii.

The order of the mint-marks indicated above is summarized below :—

*Edward IV (1st regnal period).*

Mint-mark.			
Obverse.			Reverse.
1.	Crown, quatrefoil on breast..		Rose.
2.	Cross No. 1 .. ..		Rose (B-like R's first introduced).
3.	Cross No. 1 .. ..		Sun.
4.	Cross No. 2 .. ..		Sun.
5.	Cross No. 3 .. ..		Cross No. 3.

*Henry VI (Restoration).*

6.	None .. ..		Lys at end of legend.
7.	None .. ..		None.
8.	None .. ..		Cross No. 4.
9.	None .. ..		Cross No. 5.

*Edward IV (2nd regnal period).*

10.	Cross No. 5 .. ..		{ Trefoil.
			{ Large annulet.
(11.)	.. ..		Trefoil (only found on reverse dies).
(12.)	Large Annulet .. ..		{ Cross No. 5
			{ Trefoil.
13.	Annulet .. ..		Annulet.

## KEY TO PLATE.

				Mint-mark.		
				Obverse.	Reverse.	
1.	Edward IV	pre-restora-				
		tion groat	Crown	..	Rose.	R.C-B.
2.	"	"	Cross No. 1.	..	Rose.	R.C-B.
3.	"	"	Cross No. 1.	..	Sun.	R.C-B.
4.	"	"	Cross No. 3.	..	Cross No. 3.	R.C-B.
5.	Edward IV	pre-restora-				
		tion angel	Cross No. 3.	..	None.	P.C-B.
6.	Henry VI	restoration angel	None	..	Lys.	P.C-B.
7.	"	"	None	..	Lys.	P.C-B.
8.	"	"	None	..	None.	P.C-B.
9.	"	"	None	..	Cross No. 4.	P.C-B.
10.	"	"	None	..	Cross No. 4.	P.C-B.
11.	"	"	None	..	Cross No. 5.	P.C-B.
12.	Edward IV	post-restora-				
		tion groat	Large annulet		Cross No. 5.	R.C-B.
13.	"	"	Large annulet		Trefoil.	R.C-B.





MONOCHROME REPRODUCTION, SLIGHTLY REDUCED, OF A COLOURED DRAWING IN THE HARLEIAN PSALTER, NO. 603,  
IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

## ROYAL CHARITIES.

(SECOND SERIES.)

### PART II.

BY HELEN FARQUHAR.

*Alms at the Gate, the Daily Alms, and the Privy Alms.*

**I**N our last volume we glanced in a general way at the various charities massed under the name of Maundy.<sup>1</sup> Before turning in greater detail to the yearly distribution on Holy Thursday of money gifts, presented by our Monarch after the ceremonious washing of the feet of certain selected persons, and the further gifts made on Good Friday under the name of the King's Dole, let us clear the ground of the other charities to which also the word "Maundy" has frequently been applied. We have seen that pennies were required for the Holy Thursday ceremonial; but this was not all, for in the Largesse scattered on



THREEPENCE OF CHARLES II.

Progress and distributed at Easter under the designation of the "King's Dole," we find the necessity for half-groats, and in the time of Henry VII and Henry VIII for groats also; whilst at a later period these latter, and possibly even the quarter-shillings, were required for Gate Alms.

<sup>1</sup> *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. xvi, pp. 195-228.



Under the Tudors the money allowance of five pence per man to 13 persons must have been given in the form of a groat or two half-groats supplemented by a penny.

Of all these charities, the "Dayly Almes," or "Almes at the Gate" as the food dole was called, must take precedence, being the most general; for not only at the door of the palace, but from every Religious House, were the wants of the poor supplied. The daily charities in the form of food doles were a survival of the feasts constantly given to the indigent by our early kings, and of the custom which gradually became established of saving for the hungry the scraps which remained from the rich man's table. These food doles were in time commuted for a money payment provided by the "Dayly Almes" and given at the gate to certain selected persons; and in this substitution of money for bread and beer we find a daily need in the palace, the castle, the university or the monastic house for small moneys from the penny to the groat. These feasts are mentioned at other Courts besides our own, notably in the case of Malcolm III of Scotland and his saintly English wife, Margaret;<sup>1</sup> and I have had occasion to refer to those of our Angevin and Plantagenet kings in our former volumes.<sup>2</sup> But it will be well to draw attention to the fact, that it was not only the saintly, but also the politic, such as our King John, who satisfied the requirements of custom in these matters. In the accounts of Edward I<sup>3</sup> these feasts are specified as "*de custuma antiqua*," an expression which, were it not that they come under the head of "*Elemosina*," might be interpreted as compensation for forced assistance. That such compensation was given is certain, even so late as the time of James I, the king being often obliged to impress carts, horses, provisions and even persons, to assist in transport on

<sup>1</sup> *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. xvi, pp. 210, 211. Cp. *Life of Margaret, Queen of Scotland*, by Bishop Turgot, who died in August, 1109. The translation of this Latin MS. was published by William Forbes Leith (see 2nd ed., 1886, p. 61, containing the accounts of these ministrations).

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. xii, p. 57, note 3, and p. 60 *et seq.*

<sup>3</sup> *Liber Quotidianus Contra Rotulatores Garderobæ*, 28 Ed. I, Nov., 1299-1300, edited by John Topham for the Society of Antiquaries in 1787.

journey.<sup>1</sup> But I think that appearing in the list of charities the "ancient custom" must be taken merely as indication that such doles were no new thing, and of this we have abundant proof.

Let us return to the accounts of John,<sup>2</sup> the earliest with which I am personally conversant. This king is not generally regarded as a philanthropist, but he feasted his poor brethren in multitudes, partly no doubt to keep well with the people and partly as expiation for minor sins. John appears to have been far from strict with reference to the fasts enjoined by the Church, with which he was more often at war than at peace. But in his fourteenth regnal year he was temporarily reconciled with the Pope and was therefore inclined to regularize his conduct. Almost every feast of the Church produced a dinner for 100 persons or more, and we read with some amusement that because the king ate flesh twice on the "Friday next after Ascension" at Lambeth, 100 poor folk were fed on bread and fish at the price of 9s. 4½d.<sup>3</sup> Again we find 300 persons thus regaled at the cost of 28s. 4d. because of a similar offence on three Fridays, and yet again for the same seven Fridays, 700 at 65s. 7½d.<sup>4</sup> John feasted the people when he went hunting or hawking, whether as a fine or thank-offering I cannot say. A successful day's hawking, when 9 crane were killed, caused him to entertain 100 guests at Limberge at the expense of 13s. 6½d.,<sup>5</sup> and the contracted word "paupum," for *pauperum*, translated in his Preface<sup>6</sup> by Sir Henry Cole as "paupers," shows that these were not the king's friends, but literally some "of the poor folk." It is, however, possible that the feast may have been given in compensation for damage done in hawking. On another occasion at Eiswell 350 poor persons were fed, although only 7 birds were killed, bringing up the expense to

<sup>1</sup> Historical Manuscripts Commission. Report V, Part I, pp. 407-808, October 15, 1605.

<sup>2</sup> "Rotulus Misæ Anni Regni Johannis Quarta Decimi," published in *Documents Illustrative of English History*, by Sir Henry Cole, in 1841.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 231.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 235 and 251.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 253.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, Preface, pp. vii, viii.

29s. 11d.<sup>1</sup> At Northampton 500 at a cost of 113s. 7d. were regaled with flesh, bread and ale, whilst a similar number had fish and ale, and 13 others are separately set down at a charge of 20½d. for meat and bread.<sup>2</sup> This number of 13 is suggestive at first sight of Maundy, but it is, as we shall see, quite a common number for such charities, and John's Maundy observances come under a different heading. We see that John's feasts cost him roughly 1½d. per head if of bread and meat, and 1⅕d. sufficed for bread and fish, but if ale was also provided the sum reached 1¾d. or even more. John's eleemosynary accounts are not divided like those of some of the later kings, from those of the household expenses, so we cannot find any evidence that his gifts were personally bestowed; it is therefore useless to go further into the question of the cost of his feasts, the currency being in no way affected.

The charities of Edward I were administered in a more systematic manner, and his eleemosynary account opens in his twenty-eighth regnal year with the sum of £8 8s. 3d. expended in two days on feeding pensioners at the rate of 1½d. per head.<sup>3</sup> The numbers fed vary from 10 persons in honour of St. James to 1,000 on the feast of the king's Patron Saint, St. Edward King and Martyr. The accounts of this year 1299-1300 show that he gave food to at least 666 poor persons every week, and often to many more, sometimes to 1,700 or even 2,700.<sup>4</sup> During Lent the procedure was systematic, 13 of these poor being maintained "ratione jejuniij" and 13 more in honour of the Apostles.<sup>5</sup> The weekly expenses range between £4 3s. 3d. and £24 15s. 9d., and the total for the year is given as £655 3s. 8d. thus spent in daily charities, but this includes 80s. 10d. for 970 persons treated for the King's Evil within the

<sup>1</sup> "Rotulus Misæ Anni Regni Johannis Quarta Decimi," published in *Documents Illustrative of English History*, by Sir Henry Cole, in 1841, p. 250.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 248.

<sup>3</sup> *Liber Quotidianus*, p. 16. By a misprint in transcript this is noted at 1d. quadran, but by reference to the plate used as frontispiece to the book we see that it should read ob., and with this the arithmetic tallies.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 19-21.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, Preface, p. xxviii, and p. 20.

year, and therefore should be reckoned at £651 2s. 10d. The total charitable expenditure, including oblations, was £1,166 14s. The king, the queen and the royal children were regular in their church oblations, and whilst the offerings of their eldest son average 7s. weekly, the *Wardrobe Accounts of Edward's second son Henry* reveal that he and his sister Eleanor "gave alms varying from 2d. to 4d. every Saturday, and usually on other days as well."<sup>1</sup> Every Friday a sum of usually sixteen or seventeen pence, but rising on Good Friday to 2s. 8d., was assigned "in elemosinis pro pondere domine H et sororis sue." The children, according to information kindly given to me by Mr. Charles Johnson at the Record Office, from the *Wardrobe Accounts of King Edward I*, were weighed and measured each week against candles to be burned in honour of their patron saints, and this must have cost their father a considerable sum.<sup>2</sup>

As regards the custom of weighing the children in the cause of charity, we may call to mind that this was no new thing, for Stow in his *Survey of London* tells us that Henry III caused his children to be "weighed and measured, their weight and measure to be distributed for their good estates."<sup>3</sup> Stow also says that in 1236 "Henry III caused his treasurer William de Hauerhull, upon the day of the Circumcision of Our Lord," to feed at Westminster 6,000 poor people. On the Friday next after the Epiphany, the king commanded Hugh Giffard and William Browne to "cause to be fed in the Great Hall at Windsor at a good fire all the poore and needie children that could be found."<sup>4</sup>

In the same way the mother of Thomas à Becket, although only the wife of a London citizen, weighed her son as a child against food

<sup>1</sup> Published by Miss Hilda Johnson in *The Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, vol. vii, pp. 386-420. Accounts running from February, 1273, to October, 1274, when Prince Henry died, aged five.

<sup>2</sup> 500 candles were offered by Henry III in thanksgiving after the birth of Prince Edward in 1239. See *England under Henry III*, by Margaret Hennings.

<sup>3</sup> Stow's *Survey of London*, Kingsford's edition, vol. i, p. 90.

<sup>4</sup> Stow, *ibid.*, vol. i, p. 90.

and clothing which she gave to the poor.<sup>1</sup> The candles burnt to the honour of saints sometimes contained a further offering, and we read of three half-angels put by Princess Mary Tudor into her taper on Candlemas Day in 1536-7.<sup>2</sup> On this day the offering of a taper was almost compulsory, and it was only under Edward VI that a proclamation had ordered that none should be imprisoned for neglecting this duty.<sup>3</sup>

But we must not wander from the food doles to the many church offerings which we have fully discussed in our former volumes.<sup>4</sup> I can only express my sorrow that I was not able to avail myself of Mr. Charles Johnson's very kind offer to pilot me through some of the other accounts of the Edwards, an offer consequent upon some correspondence that followed upon his interesting paper on Edward I's Wardrobe Books, which he read before the Royal Historical Society in March, 1923.<sup>5</sup> He informed me that the rule of feeding at least 666 persons in the week—although the "ancient custom," and mentioned as such, as I have said in 1299-1300, and again, as he tells me, in the Wardrobe Accounts of 1305-6—was probably the outcome of personal vows, and was not so ancient as the time of John when, as we have seen, the meals were casual.

The word "putura" is used with regard to the feasts given by Edward I, and this expression, as the transcriber of the manuscript, published by the Society of Antiquaries, John Topham, explains in his glossary, here signifies "maintenance or sustenance of poor persons at the Royal expense."<sup>6</sup> Mr. W. J. Andrew tells me that the more ancient meaning was "man's meat gratis," it being the right of the king to extort rations from his tenants at a fixed rate of compensation. In this compensation therefore we may see the reason

<sup>1</sup> *England under Angevin Kings*, by Kate Norgate, vol. i, p. 50.

<sup>2</sup> *Privy Purse Expenses of Princess Mary*, edited by F. Madden, p. 16 (1536-7).

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, notes, p. 218.

<sup>4</sup> *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. xii, p. 72, and pp. 81-88.

<sup>5</sup> Published in Royal Historical Society's *Transactions*, Fourth Series, vol. vi, pp. 50-72.

<sup>6</sup> *Liber Quotidianus, Elemosina*, p. 16 *et seq.*, and Glossary, p. 369.



why in all feasts the cost per man is set down, and this fact does not therefore indicate that money was given to the king's poor guests in lieu of victuals. In 1297, some two years before the date of the accounts above quoted, the customs due to the crown were revised, and it was decided, as Dr. Hubert Hall tells us,<sup>1</sup> that "the crown might take for its use only such quantity of provisions as was absolutely necessary for the royal household." In William I's reign, and "down to the time of Henry I his son," as Dr. Hall explains, when provender was accepted rather than a money tax, wheat to feed 100 men was reckoned at 1s.<sup>2</sup> In spite, therefore, of the rising price of corn, which in the reign of John's son Henry III became abnormally high according to the list of prices published by Mr. Topham,<sup>3</sup> it appears that when John paid 1s. 8½d. to feed the 13 men on bread and meat, or 113s. 7d. for a feast to 500 persons, consisting of bread, meat and ale, he was giving, if he had impressed these provisions from the towns through which he passed, monetary compensation at full market value.

The scene depicted in facsimile at the commencement of this series of articles<sup>4</sup> is the work of an eleventh-century monk, who was no doubt familiar with such food distributions in his monastery at Canterbury. To save reference it is reproduced at the beginning of this article, slightly reduced, and in monochrome. It brings before us the "Daily Alms," as this dole was later called by the Tudors, or "Gate Alms" in our modern parlance, and pictures for us a king or great personage at the gate of his residence distributing gifts to the poor.<sup>5</sup>

Such distribution of food does not appear to have been always

<sup>1</sup> *Antiquities and Curiosities of the Exchequer*, p. 215.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 181.

<sup>3</sup> *Liber Quotidianus*, in "Observations on the Wardrobe Accounts of Edward I," p. xxv.

<sup>4</sup> *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. xii, facing p. 39, coloured illustration of Psalm cxi in the Vulgate (or Psalm cxii according to our Psalter). *Brit. Mus. Harl. MS.*, 603.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. xii, pp. 60-3.

personal, although we read that Malcolm III of Scotland and his wife served their 300 poor guests with their own hands every day during Lent and in the 40 days preceding Christmas.<sup>1</sup> The queen also herself humbly waited upon 24 poor people, whom she fed "throughout the year, moving them with her Court, so that this charity might be uninterrupted;"<sup>2</sup> and she moreover attended personally to the wants of 9 orphans, whose food she actually prepared.<sup>3</sup> But such devotion is exceptional, although historians occasionally give us a pleasing glimpse of kindly thoughtfulness in later times, as when Charles I,<sup>4</sup> on his way to Scotland in 1639, confided to the authorities in York on Easter Monday the sum of £70 for each of the four wards of the City, to be distributed amongst the poor widows of the town. Also Henry V, besieging Rouen, caused the non-combatant population to be succoured. The women and children, useless persons in the eyes of the garrison, had been turned out to starve between the walls and the English lines, and, writes Holinshed, "King Henrie moued with pitie vpon Christmasse daie in honor of Christes Nativitie refreshed all the poor people with vittels."<sup>5</sup> But whether dictated by pity or by policy—for we note that Holinshed concludes "to their great comfort and his high praise"—or by the exigencies of the moment, the desire to stand well with the Church, or even the force of habit in long-established custom, we find in the Middle Ages, and, indeed, well on into the sixteenth century, that just as a king or great nobleman travelling with a large train was obliged to provide for his retinue, similar responsibilities weighed upon him with regard to those who came from a distance to his house on an errand. Although therefore the *Ordinances of Charles II's Household*<sup>6</sup> promulgated on the Restoration ordered the removal

<sup>1</sup> *Life of St. Margaret*, p. 62.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 63. The special number of 24 persons will again attract our attention in the daily distribution at the gate of Whitehall under Charles II.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 61.

<sup>4</sup> Drake's *Eboracum*, p. 137.

<sup>5</sup> Holinshed, vol. iii, p. 103, ed. 1808.

<sup>6</sup> *Collection of Ordinances*, published by the Society of Antiquaries in 1790, p. 352.



from the precincts of "vagrant persons, rogues and all sorts of beggars," so that "no masterlesse men or uncivil or unclean and rude people . . . shall come within our Court," the daily distribution to the poor at the gate was not forgotten, the daily pensioners being selected persons and not "idle and loose people" to whom access was forbidden.

Let us now see the gradual development of the food dole into the "Daily Alms," in no way restricted to royalty.

In the castles of the nobility, in the King's Palaces, in every Religious House, in learned Institutions, such as the Colleges and Inns of Court, the food dole gradually took the place of the feasts. The subject of this food dole, distributed by the Almoner daily to those who came to the gate to receive it, is, of course, a matter of well-known history. But there are unfamiliar details connected with this charity which bring it within the sphere of numismatic study. In the monasteries and other large houses no less than in the King's immediate residence, all the broken food was gathered into baskets and delivered to the poor. Some have mistakenly seen in these baskets called "Maunds" the origin of the word Maundy, but as we have already explained, a more correct derivation lies in the command of Our Lord at the Cœna Domini: "Mandatum novum do vobis."<sup>1</sup>

It will be remembered that before the dissolution of the monasteries by Henry VIII, the Religious Houses were open to all travellers and took the place of inns. So much was this the case that the very extravagance in the monasteries sometimes contributed to their dissolution. We are told,<sup>2</sup> for instance, concerning Christchurch, Aldgate, a Priory which according to Stow "kept a bountiful house of meat and drink both for rich and poor as well within the

<sup>1</sup> *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. xvi, p. 212. See also Mr. Wheatley's note to his edition of *Pepys' Diary*, vol. vi, p. 257, note 1, where he explains that Professor Skeat has settled the question, proving that Maundy is the phonetic form of the French *mandé* for *mandatum* (see Skeat's *Etymological Dictionary*).

<sup>2</sup> *The Beginning of the Dissolution*, p. 131, by Miss E. Jeffries Davis, Royal Historical Society's *Transactions*, 4th series, vol. viii, pp. 127-150.

house as at the gates to all comers according to their estates,"<sup>1</sup> that the Prior and Canons in February, 1531-2, made over their possessions to the king partly because their debt became too heavy for liquidation. But where hospitality was so lavish the amount of broken bread was considerable. The wayfarer might be entertained free of charge, or might give money in return for the benefits which he enjoyed, increasing thereby the resources of the house towards feeding the poor. The pious and benevolent were apt to bequeath certain endowments to those who, profiting by their generosity, were required to pray for the souls of the departed. There was scarcely a Religious Order whose history did not embrace such bequests. Mr. Fletcher, for instance, writing of the Cistercians,<sup>2</sup> tells us that some houses of this order were largely supplied with funds for this special service, and mentions that Meaux had "no fewer than 18 grants of this sort, for a free and perpetual alms to be made at the gate." Such bequests are still operative in many places, and Mr. Walter Bell, writing in 1912,<sup>3</sup> gives us the example of St. Dunstan's where, every Sunday, 13 pennyworth of bread is handed to as many persons after service, in consequence of a Trust for a thousand years, provided in 1584 by two inhabitants of Hare House, Rams Alley, at a yearly expenditure of £2 16s. 4d.

The Cathedral of St. Albans still possesses, as we learned in 1920, near the tower within an opening leading to the Cloisters, three ancient cupboards, from which loaves of bread are distributed every Sunday to the aged poor of the parish, in accordance with a charity founded by one Richard Skelton in 1628.<sup>4</sup> Hasted, the historian of Kent, writing in 1790, stated that 600 cakes, 270 loaves of bread, and 1½ lbs. of cheese were every Easter given to the poor of Biddenden in that county.<sup>5</sup> The word "loaves" is subject to

<sup>1</sup> Stow's *Survey of London*, Kingsford's edition, vol. i, 1908, p. 141.

<sup>2</sup> *Cistercians in Yorkshire*, by J. S. Fletcher, p. 164.

<sup>3</sup> *Fleet Street in Seven Centuries*, by Walter G. Bell, p. 296.

<sup>4</sup> *Cathedral and Abbey Church of St. Albans*, by the Rev. E. H. Evans and the late D. A. H. Lawrence, p. 28.

<sup>5</sup> *History of Kent*, vol. iii, p. 66.

a varied interpretation in different centuries, as is explained by the anonymous author of a book entitled *Lambeth Palace*, whilst telling us of the charity displayed by Archbishop Robert Winchelsey, who during his primacy from 1294-1313 "gave euery Friday and Sunday to euery beggar that came to his gate a lofe of bread sufficient for that day." The loaf, according to the author of this book on Lambeth Palace, was valued at "a farthing piece."<sup>1</sup> The size of the loaf on the other hand, if limited as it often was by a money bequest, may appear very small in these days of high prices. "The Guift of Jeremiah Bright of London," bequeathed in 1697, now takes the form of one dozen twopenny rolls at Ruislip near Mortlake, in order that "2s. worth of Bread be distributed by ye Minist<sup>r</sup> and Churchwardens to the Poor every Sunday for ever," for otherwise the three shelves of the hanging "dole cupboard" made to contain the larger loaves could not be duly furnished.<sup>2</sup>

But we may go back further for the continuity of such doles, in that Mr. Victor Cook speaks of the "Dole Bread" from the lands at Gravellingwell, a gift inaugurated by Ralph de Warham when, in the eleventh century, he was Bishop of Winchester and high in the favour of King Henry III. This "Dole Bread" was distributed to the poor of Chichester for centuries.<sup>3</sup>

We find Nicholas West, made Bishop of Ely in 1515, daily relieving in 1532 "Two hundred poor people with warme meate besides bread and drink" at his gates.<sup>4</sup> Or to turn again to the chronicler Stow, we notice his regret on the loss to the community in the death in 1572 of Edward, Earl of Derby, a man of princely charity. Stow speaks of his liberality to strangers, his "famous

<sup>1</sup> *Lambeth Palace*, p. 55. This book, published anonymously, was dedicated to Dr. Manners Sutton as Primate, and was from internal evidence probably published in or soon after 1805, the date of his accession to the Primacy. See also Stow's *Survey of London*, Kingsford's edition, vol. i, p. 90.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Frederick Roe, writing on furniture in the *Connoisseur* for July, 1925, p. 148, describes and illustrates this "dole cupboard" with its shelves.

<sup>3</sup> *The Story of Sussex*, p. 185.

<sup>4</sup> *Eton College*, by Lionel Cust, p. 731.

housekeeping" and his feeding aged persons "twice every day sixtie and odde, besides all commers, thrise a weeke appointed for his dealing dayes and every Good Friday 2,700 with meate drinke and money."<sup>1</sup> Again Stow, referring to Henry VIII's Chancellor of the Exchequer and Lord Great Chamberlain, Thomas Cromwell, describes the distributions to the poor as follows: "I, my selfe in that declining time of charity haue oft seene at the Lord Cromwel's gate in London, more than two hundred persons serued twice every day with bread, meate and drinke sufficient, for hee obserued the auncient and charitable custome, as all prelates, noble men, or men of honor and worship his predecessors had done before him."<sup>2</sup> The chronicler, however, laments towards<sup>3</sup> the end of the sixteenth century a greater decline in the magnitude of this charity, and quotes Bede as saying that "the Prelates of his time" had on their "borde at theyre meales one Almes dish into which was carued some good portion of meate out of eury dish brought to their Table."<sup>4</sup>

These alms-dishes were to be found in all large households and on all noblemen's and prelate's tables, and the quantities of the provisions thus given away were prodigious; added to this, bread was specially baked for distribution. Richard de Bury, Bishop of Durham in the reign of Edward III, "did weekly bestowe for the reliefe of the poor eight quarters of wheate made into bread besides his almes dish, fragments from his house, and great summes of money given to the poor when he iourneyed."<sup>5</sup> The injunctions against waste of such fragments were very strict, and Archbishop Parker<sup>6</sup> is insistent on this point in his *Regulations* at Lambeth Palace drawn up *circa* 1559-1575, and probably themselves founded on

<sup>1</sup> Stow's *Survey of London*, Kingsford's edition, vol. i, p. 88.

<sup>2</sup> Stow's *Survey of London*, vol. i, p. 89. See also *Shakespeare's England*, vol. ii, p. 487.

<sup>3</sup> Stow published his *Survey of London* in 1598, and re-published it in 1603. He died in 1605.

<sup>4</sup> Stow's *Survey of London*, p. 89.

<sup>5</sup> Stow, *ibid.*, pp. 90, 91.

<sup>6</sup> *Lambeth Palace*, p. 55.

yet earlier rules promulgated by Cranmer.<sup>1</sup> "There must be no purloining of meat left upon the tables" is one command followed by the injunction "that it be putt into the Almestubb and the tubb to be kepte sweete and cleane before it be issued from time to time."

Nevertheless we must remind our readers that a demand for perquisites was sometimes put forward and compensation had to be awarded. "In 29 Elizabeth," writes William Dugdale<sup>2</sup> under date February 6, 1586-7, "there was a charitable order made for the better relief of the poor in Gray's Inne Lane, viz., 'That the third Butler should be at the carrying forth from the Buttery and also at the distribution of Almes, thrice in the week at Greyes Inne Gate, to see that due consideration be had to the poorer sort of aged and impotent persons according as in former time he used to do.'" Nichols reports<sup>3</sup> that by Elizabeth's direct order somewhat later, this regulation was enforced and compensation given to those who claimed the perquisites, for the learned Society of Gray's Inn was under the patronage of the Queen; but the compensation was not monetary, for thus says Dugdale: "Whereas the Pannyer man and under Cook did challenge to have a corrody<sup>4</sup> of the broken Bread. It was likewise ordered that for those dayes that the Almes was given they should have each of them a cast of Bread; scil: three loaves apiece in lieu thereof; to the end the whole broken Bread and the Almes Basket might go to the Poor."

<sup>1</sup> I was privileged to see these regulations at Lambeth, and was told by the courteous Librarian, Professor the Rev. Dr. Claude Jenkins, that this is most likely the case.

<sup>2</sup> Dugdale's *Origines Juridiciales*, cap. lxvii, p. 286, under the heading of "Relief of the Poor."

<sup>3</sup> Nichols' *Progresses of Queen Elizabeth*, vol. i, pp. 27, 28, ed. 1788; and *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. xii, p. 64.

<sup>4</sup> A corrody was a sum of money or an allowance of meat, drink, or clothing, due to the king from an abbey, or other house of religion, whereof he was founder or hereditary owner of the dues, and distributed or assigned by the king towards the maintenance in an abbey of any of his servants. I understand that a "corrody" of 2s. 6d. a week is still paid at Lambeth to people who represent the "out Sisters and Brothers of the old foundation," i.e. those who lived without the wall.



Nichols, in a note dealing with the "Expenses of the Queen's Table," states that in the year 1576 the accounts of Elizabeth's Bakehouse show forth: "In broken bread delivered to the almnrs 5 qrtr. 4 bush. dim,"<sup>1</sup> and "The Queen's alms to 13 poor men in bread (13 loaves) and ale (2 gallons) £22."

The distribution at Court lay with the Almoner, from whom it eventually devolved upon two Grooms, and two Yeomen of the Almonry, who, says Edward Chamberlayne, writing in 1672, "have salaries of his Majesty for that Service."<sup>2</sup> The "Ordinances" made for the government of Charles II's household in the first year after the Restoration are worded much like those of Archbishop Parker, although they were framed at least a hundred years apart. "The gentlemen-ushers were commanded to take particular care herein that all the meate that is taken off the table on trencher plates be put into a basket for the poor and not undecently eated by any servant in the roome."<sup>3</sup>

We shall see that under the Tudors a money distribution had commenced which was called the "Daily Alms," and consisted almost invariably in a share of 37s. 11d. per week divided between 13 persons, or £93 11s. 8d. a year. This dole was supplementary to the food distribution, but eventually assumed larger proportions and supplanted it.

As in the monasteries, so in the palaces, the amount of broken meat must have been very large in early Tudor and Stuart times. Chamberlayne unfortunately only began to write under Charles II, and never dated his references to past events; but he, nevertheless, gave by way of contrast many side-lights on earlier history. He speaks of the great numbers of dishes served at Court "in the last King's reign before the troubles," thereby clearly pointing to the time of Charles I. But he tells us that the first Charles had already

<sup>1</sup> Nichols' *Progresses of Elizabeth*, vol. ii, pp. 45 and 50, "The Queen's Majesty's Dyett."

<sup>2</sup> *Angliæ Notitia, or Present State of England*, 1672, part i, p. 212.

<sup>3</sup> *Collection of Ordinances*, p. 367.

"lessened" many of the offices and expenses," and "the King now reigning," *i.e.* Charles II, "hath yet lessened more."<sup>1</sup>

We may, I think, be fairly certain that on the Restoration the customs of the Court, somewhat fallen into abeyance under the Lord Protector, were re-established, although not quite according to the profuse magnificence displayed before the Civil War. There were drastic reforms in the expenditure of Charles II in 1667-8,<sup>2</sup> but already, previously to this enquiry into the household accounts, the King's prodigality had received a check. It is clear that Chamberlayne was right when he wrote of the beneficence of Charles II as "lessened," for we find the accurate John Evelyn noting the same fact in his *Diary* on August 20, 1663.<sup>3</sup> Evelyn was dining that day with the Comptroller of the Household, and remarked that "it was said it should be the last of the public diets or tables at Court, it being determined to put down the old hospitality, at which was great murmuring, considering his Ma'ty's vast revenue and the plenty of ye nation." The "Free Tables" in the times of James I were open to the public, and Chamberlayne says that even in Charles I's reign "there were daily at his Court 86 tables well furnished at every meal."<sup>4</sup> The first retrenchment appears to have been made shortly after Charles I ascended the throne. Miss Mary Coate, in her *Social Life in Stuart England*, quotes a contemporary writer whose name she does not give, but who, under date of July 7, 1626, gives details of the changes.<sup>5</sup> "After Sunday next," says this authority, "all the tables at Court are to be put down and the Courtiers put upon board wages, except the Chamberlain, the Master of the Horse, the Secretary that waits, and the Groom of the Stole."

<sup>1</sup> *Angliæ Notitia*, 1st edition, 1669, p. 296, and 1671, p. 207.

<sup>2</sup> *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. xiii, p. 143, note 3. Notes from the MS. *State Papers Domestic of Charles II*, vols. 233, No. 150, and 236, No. 193. Privy Council Meeting of March 18, 1667-8, when the grant to the Privy Purse was reduced to £20,000 a year.

<sup>3</sup> *Evelyn's Diary*, ed. 1827, vol. ii, p. 211.

<sup>4</sup> *Angliæ Notitia*, or *Present State of England*, 1672, part i, p. 212.

<sup>5</sup> *Social Life in Stuart England*, p. 76, by Mary Coate.



We see, therefore, that it was only in the first flush of the Restoration that the "Free Tables" kept by James I were temporarily reopened, but that Charles II shortly followed in his father's footsteps and endeavoured to "lessen" expenses.

If we turn to the account-books in 1689 of William and Mary, who were anxious to retain a popularity which was somewhat tarnished by antagonistic politics, we shall find the usual entry "Dayly Alms at the Gate."<sup>1</sup> But the alms are set forth as a money payment, and we do not see gifts to the poor mentioned as of yore amongst "daily liveries of bread, beer and wyne for the several dyetts," but, in company with wages and pensions and "board wages to old servants," we notice that the sum of £219 is set aside for these "Daily Alms." It crosses our minds that this allocation of £219, larger than that of Charles II, who had almost doubled the yearly allowance for "Daily Alms" made by the Tudors, may have been so expended by William and Mary partly in compensation for the dwindling contents of the alms-tubs under the economical regulations of the semi-Dutch Court. Careful record is kept of the "manchets" or small rolls of bread and of the loaves required by the entire household.<sup>2</sup> The King, Queen and Court were obliged to content themselves with 136½ gallons of beer and 30 bottles of Lambeth ale as against 240 gallons<sup>3</sup> which, under Charles II, had been distributed to the "poor at the Gate," and we have only the item of 1 gallon of beer and a loaf per day for the porter. But as regards the consumption of beer at Court, we must bear in mind that ale and wine were no longer the exclusive beverages in the fashionable world. The more expensive tea and chocolate, although a new importation in the reign of Charles II, had come into daily use under Mary and Anne. Chamberlayne's lists of provisions for the Palace before the Civil War are formidable, and we may quote: "For Bread 36,400 Bushels of Wheat and for Drink 600 Tun of Wine and

<sup>1</sup> *Collection of Ordinances*, p. 417.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 384-5.

<sup>3</sup> *Angliæ Notitia*, 1672, part i, p. 212.

1,700 Tun of Beer.”<sup>1</sup> The £219, however, as quoted above is not only the allowance for the poor under William and Mary, but continues in the time of Anne. By the kindness of the late Colonel Campion, I was permitted access to some account-books at Danny of the year 1702. Under date March 25 to June 24, I noticed that the Queen allowed “To the Lord Almoner 500<sup>li</sup> per Ann for Her Mat<sup>s</sup> daily Alms” and “£219 per Ann for Poor at the Gate,” the quarter payments coming respectively to £125 for the former and £54 15s. for the latter. Here we have a distinct line drawn between the distribution of otherwise useless scraps and the money allowance provided by the “Daily Alms.”

Let us draw again upon our excellent friend Edward Chamberlayne,<sup>2</sup> and quote his description of the office of the Lord Almoner, who must not be confused with the Hereditary Grand Almoner instituted in the reign of Richard I, and whose duty it was to distribute the largesse at the Coronation. The duties of the Lord Almoner were defined under Edward I,<sup>3</sup> but Chamberlayne tells us that apart from the King’s Offerings in Church, specially large on Collar Days and at the Epiphany, “all Deodands and Felonum de se [were] to be that way disposed.”<sup>4</sup> We must remember that the “Privy Alms,” which appear to have been at the discretion of the Lord Almoner, were under Henry VII<sup>5</sup> and Henry VIII<sup>6</sup> stated at £10 a month, and under Edward VI<sup>7</sup> had risen to £240 a year, at the rate, namely, of £20 monthly; and under Mary I, money laid aside in an estimate of the probable expenses of 1553-4 for this purpose is quoted at

<sup>1</sup> *Anglicæ Notitia*, ed. 1672, pp. 212-13.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, part i, p. 162.

<sup>3</sup> Timbs’s *Curiosities of London*, p. 7.

<sup>4</sup> For Collar Days, when the King’s gift was always in gold, see *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. xii, p. 86, and note 1 on that page. The Epiphany gift of a gold bezant is now, after passing through various vicissitudes, replaced by £50 in notes.

<sup>5</sup> *Brit. Mus. MS.*, Addit. 21480 (1497-1505).

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 21481, and Addit. 20030 (1529-32), and *Arundel MS.* 97 (1537-8, 1541), and *Stow MS.* 554 (May to September, 1542); and also at Public Record Office, *Exchequer Accounts*, various, Bundle 420, No. 11.

<sup>7</sup> Public Record Office, *Exchequer Accounts*, various, Bundle 426, Nos. 5 and 6.

£1,800 for a year, apart from her Offerings through the Dean of her Chapel, which are set down at £200, and her "Daily Almes" of £75 16s. 8d.,<sup>1</sup> and Nichols in 1576 gives £73 as "The daylie almes by the yere" of Elizabeth, plus £22 for bread and ale.<sup>2</sup> The Daily Offerings of Edward IV amounted to but £10 3s. 8d. a year at the rate of 7d. a day. On special occasions, *i.e.* on 17 days in the year, he offered 6s. 8d., his new "noble" or a "greete plate of golde,"



GOLD BEZANT OF JAMES I.

(*Medallic Illustrations*, vol. 1, p. 187, No. 2.)

later represented by the bezant, which had to be redeemed at a price.<sup>3</sup> The bezant under Edward VI was reckoned at from 40s. to 48s., but the gold offered by the Tudors every Sunday was never less than 6s. 8d., and often more, whilst under James I, although valued at only about £15 in gold, the cost to the king was £47 7s. in 1604 "for the gold patterns and stamps" of "a fayre bezaunt or offering

<sup>1</sup> *Trevelyan Papers*, part ii, vol. 84, of Camden Society's Publications, 1862, p. 36. Probably the almes through the Deane of the Chappell were for Collar Days.

<sup>2</sup> Nichols' *Progresses*, vol. ii, p. 48.

<sup>3</sup> *Liber Niger Domus Regis Edw. IV*, p. 23.

pece" which Anthony had "made for his Matie's service,"<sup>1</sup> and "a besaunte," made for Anne of Denmark in 1611 cost £38. It is interesting to note that in Elias Ashmole's *Order of the Garter*,<sup>2</sup> published in 1672, the author gives a list of jewels belonging to the Order which had been melted under the Commonwealth. Amongst other things he mentions "*Two Offering Pieces* and a Sey<sup>3</sup> of gold weighing 10 ounces and 1 quarter." It is clear from this description that the bezant was still offered until this wilful destruction.

The disposal of a very considerable sum of money, apart from the "Privy Alms" and "Daily Alms," was at the command of the Lord Almoner, and if we study some of the obligatory ways of distribution under Charles II we begin to see a need for small coins. Firstly, then, there was the gift of the "King's Dish," *i.e.* the power to present the first dish at dinner set upon the royal table, "to whatsoever man he [the Almoner] pleases, or instead thereof fourpence," which "anciently was," says Chamberlayne, "equivalent to four shillings." "Next he distributes," continues this writer, "to 24 men nominated by the Parishioners of the Parish adjacent to the king's Place of Residence, to each of them fourpence in money a Twopenny Loaf and a gallon of Beer or instead thereof 3*d.* in money to be equally divided between them every morning at 7 of the Clock at the Court Gate and every Poor Man before he received the almes is to repeat the Creed and the Lord's Prayer in the Presence of one of the King's Chaplains."<sup>4</sup> The wording of this account is slightly ambiguous, and it is not easy to ascertain whether the recipient of the King's Dish was included in the 24 or whether there were altogether 25 men, whether also each man had fourpence, and the recipient of the King's Dish appointed by the Almoner a double gift coming to eightpence. Had each of the poor men appointed by the Parish a farthing as a share in the bread and beer, or was

<sup>1</sup> *State Papers Domestic*, vol. x, Nov. 4, 1604, Docquet, and *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. ix, pp. 225-6, by Henry Symonds.

<sup>2</sup> *Institution of the Most Noble Order of the Garter*, p. 220.

<sup>3</sup> "Sey" is an old word for a tasting dish.

<sup>4</sup> *Angliæ Notitia*, 1673, p. 217.

threepence as the substitute for the food and beer given to each man? I have not found in Charles II's accounts the exact sum delivered to the Lord Almoner that either payment would demand, but I am inclined to think that even at this period one farthing would not adequately replace the food dole mentioned. Moreover, as the king and queen are described as having besides "many poor pensioners below stairs," an arithmetical calculation is not possible.

The substitution of a money gift for one in kind was neither new nor peculiar to kings; Bishop Winchelsey, in the thirteenth century, at whose bi-weekly distribution we have already glanced, "used euery Festiuall day to giue 150 pence to so many poore people" and "in time of dearth fed five thousand persons" in the year, "but in a plentiful four thousand and never under."<sup>1</sup> Bede notes "a poor Prelate, wanting victuals hath caused his almes dish, being silver to be devided among the poore therewith to shift as they could til God should send them better store."<sup>2</sup> Cardinal Wolsey would after service, as his servant and admirer George Cavendish tells us, "dine in some honest house in the town, where should be distributed to the poor a great alms as well of meat and drink as of money to supply the want of sufficient meat if the number of the poor did excede the necessity."<sup>3</sup>



WOLSEY'S GROAT.

One is half inclined to wonder whether the need for small specie in lieu of provisions is a possible explanation of the abuse by the Cardinal of the power to coin in York. One of the charges brought

<sup>1</sup> Stow's *Survey of London*, vol. i, p. 90; *Lambeth Palace*, p. 55.

<sup>2</sup> Stow, *ibid.*, ed. 1908, vol. i, p. 89.

<sup>3</sup> Cavendish's *Life of Wolsey*, in ed. 1827, p. 327.



against him was that he overstepped his privileges in the matter, coining the groat, when the permission extended to the half-groat only.<sup>1</sup>

Such was the magnificence of this prelate that it was not unlikely that he, like his master, gave fivepence as a food dole, although at that time the sum required by under-servants as board wages stood at  $2\frac{1}{2}d.$  to  $3d.$  apiece,<sup>2</sup> the groat being the keep for one day of the upper servants. The instances given above of the substitution of coin for bread and meat are accidental, being based on a food shortage. But so early as in the reign of Henry VII, John Stow, speaking of the king's foundation of the Hospital of the Savoy, says that Henry left £20 to be distributed "to the poore by twopence the peece to 13 poore men and three poore women . . . prouided in the same monasterie twelve pence the yeare." "Also," he continues, "a weekly obid . . . to give to 140 poore people each one penie."<sup>3</sup>

It is clear that to aid the distribution of kitchen scraps a certain money allowance was in Tudor times made to this department. The daily expenses set down in books of "Diets" under Henry VIII and Edward VI furnish such examples. The various items of expenditure at Hampton Court in 1553 are divided into kitchen, stables, scullery, etc., and each weekly account ends with "elm iiij<sup>s</sup>" or "elmoy iiij<sup>s</sup>," and another manuscript of 1531-2 is worded in much the same manner.<sup>4</sup> This sum was possibly paid in compensation to the cooks for the food alms they were bound to distribute, and coming to 28s. must not be confused with the regular 37s. 11d. of the "Daily Alms," which, even at this period, was clearly distributed by the sub-almoner at the gate in the form of a money dole,

<sup>1</sup> Hawkins's *Silver Coins*, p. 279. "Of his pompous and presumptuous mind he hath enterprised to coin and imprint the Cardinal's Hat under your Arms in your coin of groats made in your City of York."

<sup>2</sup> *Privy Purse Accounts of King Henry VIII*, pp. 71, 78, 95, 123, 129, etc.

<sup>3</sup> Abridgement of Stow's *Chronicle*, ed. 1607, p. 251.

<sup>4</sup> "Diets of 23rd Henry VIII, September, 1531, to September, 1532," *Brit. Mus. MS.*, Addit. 35182, and "Books of Diets of Edward VI, 1553," *Brit. Mus. MS.*, Addit. 35184 and 9823. The loaves and ale for Elizabeth's thirteen daily pensioners cost her £22 a year. See Nichols' *Progresses*, vol. ii, p. 50.

But the development was probably gradual and dependent on circumstances, beginning with food ordered by Edward the Confessor to be given daily to a sick woman who came to seek his aid, and culminating in the daily substitution, for a "Twopenny Loaf and a gallon of Beer," of "3*d.* in money" under Charles II.

The subject is ably summed up by an early nineteenth-century writer, who, speaking of the Gatehouse at Lambeth built in the fifteenth year of Edward II, explains that the dole was "immemorially given to the poor at this gate,"<sup>1</sup> Publishing about 1805 or 1806, he tells us that the word dole, alas! so familiar to our modern ears, signified originally "a share," and "in former times was understood of the relief given to the indigent at the gates of great men." This writer and others carry us onward from the money distribution of



HALFPENNY OF GEORGE III.

the thirteenth century by Winchelsey, and the charity of Thomas à Becket, who daily fed a hundred of his poorer brethren in the time of Henry II, and refused to sit down to dinner unless 26 beggars had been presented with the best dishes from his table.<sup>2</sup> At Lambeth some of these charities survived at the time our author was writing. At the beginning, then, of the nineteenth century<sup>3</sup> a large dole of beef and bread was still given, and it was supplemented by a money gift. Five shillingworth of halfpence were weekly

<sup>1</sup> *Lambeth Palace*, p. 54. It appears that the publication of this book cannot have been long delayed after Dr. Manners Sutton's accession to the Primacy in 1805. There is an edition at Lambeth with coloured plates bearing date 1806, but whether this or the undated edition is the first I have not been able to ascertain.

<sup>2</sup> *England under Angevin Kings*, vol. ii, p. 8.

<sup>3</sup> *Lambeth Palace*, p. 56.



procured to be divided between 30 of the poor parishioners, 10 at a time on Sunday, Tuesday and Thursday, each person receiving 2*d.* besides bread and meat-broth.

The writer of an article on Lambeth in Dr. Rait's *English Episcopal Palaces*,<sup>1</sup> published in 1910, gives an excellent description of the various charities, and speaks of the dole as still existing in a "modified form." I learn the nature of this "modified form" by the courtesy of Professor Jenkins, the learned librarian at Lambeth, who told me that the dole is still given weekly to 30 deserving people, but neither as food nor in copper coins. In the mid-nineteenth century the dole was changed to 2*s.*, and in 1920, when he kindly supplied this information, it stood at 2*s.* 6*d.*, but not necessarily given in new coin. It is dispensed as of yore by the porter at the gate where, from the time of Edward II, it had been administered, but if the old people do not come the money is sent to them. A further dole of 2*s.* 6*d.* is given to certain persons, representing the old corrody to the outsisters and brothers.

But it is high time to enquire into the monetary source whence the food dole was paid apart from such windfalls as Deodands, namely, things or animals forfeited to the Crown, because they had caused the death of a human being; and Felonum de se—or the property of suicides. We have seen that there was a large but varying sum designated "Privy Almes." As already stated, Edward IV<sup>2</sup> gave in "Daily" offerings seven pence per diem, but the accounts of the Tudors show us definitely that the Church offerings and the "Daily Alms" are quite distinct, and later, under Henry VII and Henry VIII and Edward VI, are weekly entered at "xxxvijs xj<sup>d</sup>."

The *State Papers Domestic* under Mary further enlighten us. "The Queen to Sir John Masone Treasurer of the Chamber. Warrant to deliver 5<sup>s</sup> 5<sup>d</sup> daily to Dr. Bell Chief Almoner to be by him distributed at the Court Gate."<sup>3</sup> Still more definite is the *Harleian*

<sup>1</sup> "The Province of Canterbury," by Valentina Hawtrey, p. 63, in *English Episcopal Palaces*, edited by R. S. Rait.

<sup>2</sup> See *ante*, p. 150, *Liber Niger Domus Regis Edw. IV.*, p. 23.

<sup>3</sup> *Calendar of State Papers Domestic*, 1554, p. 56.

*Manuscript*, 1644,<sup>1</sup> in the British Museum, with regard to Elizabeth's alms, for it tells us the number of daily pensioners: "xiiij pore men at her Ma'tes Gate every of them v<sup>d</sup> p. diem." These itemised accounts kept in Elizabeth's twenty-third and twenty-fourth regnal years, namely, Michaelmas, September 29, 1581, to the same date in 1582, throw much light on this and other questions, £58 5s. 4d. being set aside for the Maundy in that year, of which the small coin amounted to £9 12s. ; and we notice £133 6s. 8d. for another Easter charity, entitled the "King's Dole," or the "Queen's Dole" in the case of Elizabeth. The grand total of Elizabeth's alms, exclusive of her Church offerings, reaches £540, considerably lower than those of her sister Mary. The "Daily Alms" are, however, the same as those of her Tudor predecessors and reach "viii<sup>li</sup> vij<sup>s</sup> xj<sup>d</sup>" in a



MARY'S FIRST GROAT.

month "contayning xxxj dayes." "Her Highness prevye Almes" are always set down at "xx<sup>li</sup>" a month, and "the Right Reverend Father in God, John Pyers, Bishop of Sarum, Her Majesty's High Almoner," received therefore for the poor for the "Privy Almes" and the "Daily Almes" together in February, £27 11s. 8d., and in a month of 30 days, £28 2s. 6d., or in one of 31 days, £28 7s. 11d. The current coin of Tudor times lent itself easily to a distribution of 5d. per man—a groat and a penny being always accessible. "The Syluer of England," writes Andrew Borde in his *Introduction to Knowledge* in 1543,<sup>2</sup> "is Grotes, halfe grotes, Pens, halfe pens and there be some Fardynges." Mary on her accession issued groats, half-groats and pennies in her first silver coinage, and we may glance at the possibility that she required these for the "Daily Alms"

<sup>1</sup> *Brit. Mus. Harl. MS.*, No. 1644, Anno Eliz. 23-24.

<sup>2</sup> *The Boke of Introduction to Knowledge*, 1543, by Andrew Borde, chap. 8, p. xxiii.

and that other "Largesse" with which we shall deal later under the name of the "King's Dole."

Elizabeth increased the varieties of her coinage to 19 denominations, of which 11 were in silver, and there can be little doubt that her small coins, even the three-farthing pieces, were useful, whether in royal or private hands, for charitable purposes, and it was probably because they were not easily distinguishable from coins of higher value that they were discontinued.

We have no exact evidence of the moment when the 13 pensioners of the Tudors, requiring 13 pence and 13 groats or 26 half-groats daily, were increased to the 24 "pore men nominated by the parishioners," and apparently a twenty-fifth chosen by the Almoner who, under Charles II, received fourpence each, with a further sum in lieu of a food dole. But we may recall that 24 persons were daily fed by Margaret the wife of Malcolm III, and if one were indeed added to the numbers of men, it is possible that they represented the 12 apostles in addition to the usually accepted 13. Another change occurs in the money gift at an unspecified moment. The Secretary of Queen Victoria's Almonry, writing in 1893, mentioned that 150 persons were in 1843 relieved from their daily irksome attendance, and were thenceforth given their dole at Christmas and Easter, receiving 26s. a year each to represent an allowance of 6*d.* a week as Gate Alms, whilst 1,300 persons, under the name of Common Bounty, were yearly presented with 10*s.* This latter sum might easily take its rise from a dole for bread, for I learnt from Bishop Taylor, late Bishop of Kingston, that when he was Vicar of St. Saviour's, Southwark, such a benefaction survived there from a 10*s.* grant made by Charles I.

I have found no mention of the sum of 6*d.* per week in Stuart or Tudor Royal accounts, but this allowance was probably of ancient origin, in that in the thirteenth century there is ample evidence that 6*d.* a week, or at most 8*d.*, was considered an adequate endowment for poor students by the founders of some of the Oxford Colleges.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See *Oxford and Its Story*, pp. 119 and 128, by Cecil Headlam, on "Endowments of the year 1270 at Merton, and 1266 at Balliol."

Mr. Cecil Headlam, in his interesting books on that University, shows that bread and beer were deemed sufficient with one course of flesh or fish a day.<sup>1</sup> The endowment provided by Edward III in 1337 for 36 poor scholars at the King's Hall, Cambridge, was twopence a day for each,<sup>2</sup> and, according to John Stow,<sup>3</sup> in the early fourteenth century "a fat hen or two chickens, four pigeons or 24 eggs might be bought for a penny." But so early as in the year 1465 we find Bishop Bekynton bequeathing an extra penny a week each to 10 poor scholars, not having sufficient exhibition in the University of Oxford.<sup>4</sup>

The manuscript building accounts of the years 1414-40, preserved at Lambeth Palace and kindly shown to me by Professor Jenkins, throw light on the subject of growing expenses, for a bricklayer's wages were 4*d.* a day, including board, or 6*d.* without it.<sup>5</sup> In the seventeenth century a revised scale of charges at Oxford proves that the presence of Charles II's Parliament in 1681 caused a considerable rise in prices, for six eggs then cost two pence.<sup>6</sup>

We must remember that one portion of the Maundy grant included not only a provision for the "Children of the Almonry," a payment which, like some of the other grants, has been subjected to some revision, but also a subversion of a certain sum to provide two Readers in Arabic for the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge,<sup>7</sup> a relic no doubt of the royal foundations at several of the colleges.

<sup>1</sup> *The Story of Oxford*, by the same author, p. 134, being a revised and shorter edition of the above.

<sup>2</sup> *History of England under Henry IV*, by J. H. Wylie, vol. iii, p. 408. In the time of Henry IV these scholars numbered 32 only, viz. "an Inceptor in Law, 12 Masters in Philosophy, and 19 undergraduates."

<sup>3</sup> Abridgement of Stow's *Chronicle*, ed. 1607, p. 141, under date 1314.

<sup>4</sup> *The Palace of Wells*, by Eveline Woodcock, p. 303; published in *Episcopal Palaces*, edited by R. S. Rait.

<sup>5</sup> Some of these items are published in *Lambeth Palace*, p. 44.

<sup>6</sup> *Oxford and Its Story*, p. 341.

<sup>7</sup> *The Guardian*, April 5, 1893. Mr. Bidwell in his article on "Royal Almsgiving," was able to trace this somewhat curious grant as far back as 1724, but was not sure when it was instituted, and there has been a further revision under the reign of Edward VII.

Henry VII, for instance, who sent Prince Arthur to Magdalen, endowed three scholarships there in Divinity of £10 yearly,<sup>1</sup> for the benefit of the Monks at Westminster. No Etonian will ever forget the debt he owes to Henry VI for his foundation of the College,<sup>2</sup> and one of the curious survivals in old customs is the presentation of three-penny pieces on February 27, of which one penny was bequeathed to each of 70 Collegers and 10 Choristers by Provost Lupton, who expired on that day in 1540,<sup>3</sup> and the remaining two by other early benefactors.

The Provost of Eton kindly tells me that the three-penny bits are procured from the Bank, but with no reference to date, so that the fact that far fewer of these coins were issued than usual for circulation in 1924 caused no inconvenience.<sup>4</sup> More interesting, in that fresh groats may be coined by special permission for the purpose with the Maundy money, if the sufficiency of four-penny bits be exhausted, is a similar custom at Magdalen College, Oxford. The bequest of two friends of £3, to be distributed in sums of 16d., 8d., 6d., 4d. and 2d., varying in proportion to rank from the President to the Choristers, takes the form, when possible, of groats. A large collection of four-penny pieces of the time of William IV was at one time fortunately secured for the purpose, and these are now supplemented by permission from the Royal Mint.<sup>5</sup> We may also instance the presentation by the Lord Mayor of coins fresh from the Mint to the scholars of Christ's Hospital, founded by Edward VI

<sup>1</sup> *Oxford and Its Story*, pp. 232 and 235.

<sup>2</sup> *A History of Eton College*, by Lionel Cust, p. 4. The foundation of 1440 was for a Provost, 10 Fellows, 4 Clerks, 6 Choristers, a Schoolmaster and 25 indigent Scholars.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 32, and *Eton College*, by Sir Henry Maxwell-Lyte, pp. 98 and 143, and information kindly supplied by Dr. M. R. James, Provost of Eton.

<sup>4</sup> *Royal Mint Report for 1924*, by the Deputy-Master, Col. Robert Johnson, pp. 12 and 68. The demand in London was so much less than usual that apart from the Maundy only 88,000 were issued as against 656,000 in the previous year.

<sup>5</sup> Information kindly supplied by Col. Johnson, Mr. Cecil Hallett, public lecturer at the British Museum, and at one time a scholar at Magdalen, and the Rev. H. B. Wilson, Fellow of the College.



and further endowed by Charles II. The Lord Mayor hands on St. Matthew's Day to 9 "Grecians" a guinea each; to 8 probationary "Grecians" half a guinea; to 68 Monitors half a crown; to 620 of the rank and file 1s.; and to 120 junior boys 6d. Five-and-twenty girls receive 2s. 6d. and 223 other girls 1s.

A visit of Queen Elizabeth to Westminster is said to have occasioned a distribution of prizes in the Maundy coins, a custom which survives unto the present day. "An annual grant of £2 in Maunday money was given," as was stated by Mr. John Sergeant, writing in 1898 in his *Annals of Westminster School*, "for exercises in prose or verse." "In the seventeenth century," continues this author, "the coins seem to have fallen to the composers of extemporary verses in Latin or Greek. At a later period English verses also made their claim, and the epigram was rewarded with a Maunday penny" . . . "At the present time the coins go to the boys who are at the head of their forms or sets in each month. One, too, is given to the reciter of each school epigram."<sup>1</sup> Queen Elizabeth was not actually the foundress of Westminster School, but she made a new foundation, giving to each of 40 scholars the yearly sum of £3 os. 10d. for commons and two marks for a gown.<sup>2</sup> These and similar grants demanding small silver coins account for the fact that, as seen in the last-mentioned Report to which I have referred, a considerably greater number of Maundy coins are still struck than are required for the old people. The "Children of the Almonry," for instance, are represented at the Maundy service by children selected for a good-conduct prize from the National schools in Westminster, and each receives a 5s. fee in Maundy money. Other fees of the same kind exist; others have lapsed and the required issue has consequently lessened of late years.

But I have dallied too long on the educational side of the Royal Charities, and must end with a quotation from Holinshed,<sup>3</sup> who, speaking of the reign of Edward VI, tells us that the needy were

<sup>1</sup> *Annals of Westminster School*, pp. 25, 26.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 12.

<sup>3</sup> Holinshed's *Chronicle*, ed. 1808, vol. iii, pp. 1060, 1061.

divided into three classes, namely: "The Poore by Impotence; Poor by Casualtie; Thriftlesse Poore," and that at the instigation of Bishop Ridley the King made provision for them in the sixth year of his reign, for "Christ's Hospital was then founded for poor children, Saint Thomas Hospital, Southwark, and Saint Bartholomew, Smithfield, for the sick, and Bridewell for correction."

Returning then to the numismatic side of the question, we see that it was not only for the weekly obits to poor scholars or even poor pensioners, such as those of whom I have already spoken, for whom Henry VII, at the Hospital of the Savoy, gave weekly to "140 poore people each one penie."<sup>1</sup> The officials and operatives at the Mint then constantly objected to the extra trouble entailed in making small coin, and the general currency was "sometimes unable to bear the strain, so that on occasions the monarch, like Elizabeth in 1572, ordered ten pounds weight of pennies at 720 to the pound to be struck in fine silver to be delivered to the Warden of the Mint "to be by him kept to our use;"<sup>2</sup> and a very large quantity of small silver for Almsgiving in times of shortage was called for several times by James I in the same manner.<sup>3</sup> The cry for small currency meets us early and late, and the pressing need thereof caused the Scots Parliament in October, 1466, under the boy King James III of Scotland, to arrange for the issue of copper. This Act was entitled a "Statute for the use and sustentation of the Kingis lieges and almous deide to be done, to pore folk."<sup>4</sup> Sir George Macdonald, in his illuminating article on the *Mint of Crosraguel Abbey*,<sup>5</sup> assigned some farthings bearing the letters **MO RD PX VR**, and varieties thereof, which may be read MONETA PAVPERVM, to this reign, and whilst believing that the Crosraguel coins were struck at the Abbey for currency, like other better-known pieces with similar

<sup>1</sup> Abridgement of *Stow's Chronicle*, 1607, p. 251.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Henry Symonds in *Numismatic Chronicle*, "The Mint of Queen Elizabeth," 4th series, vol. xvi, p. 78.

<sup>3</sup> *MS. State Papers Domestic*, vol. clxxxv, No. 63; and *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. ix, p. 227, "Mint-Marks of the Coinage of James I," by Henry Symonds.

<sup>4</sup> Cochran Patrick's *Records of the Coinage of Scotland*, vol. i, p. 32.

<sup>5</sup> *Numismatic Chronicle*, 4th series, vol. xix, pp. 270-311.



legends, he still brings forward much interesting information concerning the various pleas for small currency coin, that the poor might not lack doles. Amongst others he quotes four of the eleven reasons submitted by Thomas Violet to the Mint Committee on August 10, 1651, to prove the necessity of making half-farthings either of copper or tin.<sup>1</sup> Three out of four of Violet's arguments might be summed up in the absolute need for change in buying and selling "small wares." The fourth runs thus: "Many aged and impotent poor, and others that would work and cannot get employment, are deprived of many alms for want of farthings and half-farthings; for many would give a farthing or half-farthing who are not disposed to give a penny or twopence, or to lose time in staying to change money, whereby they may contract a noisome smell or the disease of the poor." The humour of expecting change from a beggar did not apparently strike the memorialist, nor did he suggest the form the "change" should take if no half-farthings were issued. Sir George Macdonald also quotes a writer of the year 1566, objecting to the inconvenience of having no coin below the value of the silver penny, and making the statement that "as there was nothing smaller than a penny to give to a poor person, many were prevented from giving alms at all."<sup>2</sup> Burns, in his *Coinage of Scotland*, speaks of the Act of the Privy Council which, in February, 1554-5, ordered Lions, Hardheads, or Three-halfpenny pieces, because "the commone pepill are gretumly hurt and endommagie" because prices were higher for "vitallis sik as breid, drink, flesche, fische, beand sauld in small ar set to highar prices and gretar darth nor they wald be in caiss thair wer sufficient quantite off small money."<sup>3</sup>

But to return to England, we may bring forward the words of Briot in the reign of Charles I, who, impressing upon the King the

<sup>1</sup> *Numismatic Chronicle*, 4th series, vol. xix, p. 305. See also Williamson's edition of *Boyne's Trade Tokens*, vol. i, Introduction, pp. xxxviii and xxxix. Extracts from State Papers.

<sup>2</sup> *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1919, p. 306, quoting Rouyer, *Revue Numismatique*, 1849, p. 369, and Bodin, "Réponse aux paradoxes du Seigneur de Malestroict, 1566."

<sup>3</sup> Burns's *Coinage of Scotland*, vol. ii, pp. 310-311.

necessity for making small silver money "of 4, 3, 2 and 1d" and "Brass or Copper coine in peeces of 2, 1 and half-farthings," advised the production of these coins, not to come into greate payments but only stablished by Sovereign Princes for the buying of small Ware or giving of Almes."<sup>1</sup>

Another manuscript, badly burnt and therefore in parts illegible, but adjudged from the style of handwriting and intrinsic evidence to be of the beginning of James I's reign, advocates the issue of "a coyne of farthings and halfpence of Copper."<sup>2</sup> These coins were desired to "giue to the poore" in that "Lacke of Small money wh . . . their charitye and almes accordinge to . . . poore that th . . .<sup>th</sup> should be relieved are many tymes miserably distressed." The writer impresses on his readers the "Hyndrance of the poore, because men haue noe farthings or halfpence to give them."

All these appeals for small monies are just as much concerned with the inconvenience to the smaller purchasing public as with the requirements of almsgiving, and Nicholas Briot, in another document wherein is discussed the possibility of obtaining sixty-six instead of sixty-four shillings from the pound weight of silver, lays stress on the want of small coin "for the Commodiousness of the people and for Trade."<sup>3</sup> Special pieces stamped with legends for the latter purpose alone "would to some extent," as Sir George Macdonald points out, "defeat the purpose of the dole, by rendering it less easy for them to be absorbed into the ordinary currency."<sup>4</sup> Neither would I suggest that the various coins either of the fifteenth, sixteenth or seventeenth centuries which were struck with such legends as *MONETA PAVPERVM*, *REMEMBER THE POORE*, or words to that effect, were of a pauperizing nature and coined specially for doles.

I would rather emphasize the belief that these pieces, like the so-called Maundy money of Charles II., were not solely a special

<sup>1</sup> *State Papers Domestic*, Public Record Office, vol. 124, No. 68. "Coynes at Mint, 1628."

<sup>2</sup> British Museum, *Cotton MS.*, Otho E. x., No. 52.

<sup>3</sup> *MS. State Papers Domestic, Addenda*, vol. 529, No. 97.

<sup>4</sup> *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1919, p. 303.

coinage for charitable purposes but a real currency to facilitate the giving of small change. Slingsby, writing to Charles II under date June 5, 1661, strongly advised the making of farthings in copper because brass was apt to smell and tin was likely to be forged, but he was anxious to retain the silver penny and to add five-farthing, three-half-penny<sup>1</sup> and seven-farthing pieces to the silver currency. I would merely draw attention to the fact that the king and the people, the nobles and the great clerics, were constantly demanding small money for doles, and in conclusion would remind our readers of the Proclamation of Charles II of August 16, 1672, quoted by me



CHARLES II PATTERN FARTHING, MONTAGU 23. THE POORES RELEIFE.

in the first of this series of articles, making current the bronze coins and crying down the tradesmen's tokens. The assertion was made that "many thousands of pounds of good sterling Silver" had been "coyned into Single pence and Twopences, that so there might be good money current amongst the poorest of our Subjects and fitted for the smaller Traffic and Commerce."<sup>2</sup>


In our next volume I hope to draw attention to the "*Largesse*" and the "King's Dole," before treating of the actual Maundy Thursday benefaction in greater detail.

<sup>1</sup> Williamson's edition of *Boyne's Trade Tokens*, p. xxxviii.

<sup>2</sup> *Proclamations of Charles II*, in the Library of the Society of Antiquaries, vol. ii, No. 187. This Proclamation was printed in full in the *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. vi, in an article by Mr. William C. Wells, "On Seventeenth-Century Tokens of Northamptonshire."

## AN EMERGENCY COINAGE IN IRELAND.

BY HELEN FARQUHAR.

HE readers of the *British Numismatic Journal* will remember a very interesting paper on "The Coinage of Ireland during the Rebellion, 1641-1652," written by our member, Mr. F. Willson Yeates.<sup>1</sup> They will also recall some "Further Notes on the Irish Coinage, 1641-1652," published after the death of Mr. Yeates.<sup>2</sup> In the first article the writer dealt in some detail with certain coins roughly copied from the Tower pieces with the mint-mark triangle-in-circle, which he, on strong evidence, attributed to the Confederated Catholics of Kilkenny in the year 1642. He described a square-shaped piece as follows:—"Obverse.—Charles I on horseback to the left within a grained circle. Reverse.—The royal arms in an oval shield garnished, within a grained circle. Struck on a piece of copper .9 of an inch square, which is a little too small to show the whole of the device in the circles. Weight 140 grains."<sup>3</sup> He illustrated this curious coin, then in his, and now in my collection, and speculated as to the probability that it was coined in copper as a trial piece.

In that the British Museum and the Winchester Cathedral Library each contain a silver example, weighing 118½ grains and 155 grains, respectively—the latter, evenly struck, and in splendid condition, coming under the notice of Mr. W. J. Andrew after the death of Mr. Yeates—the explanation brought forward by Mr. Yeates appeared likely to be the true solution of the problem. This was the

<sup>1</sup> *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. xv, pp. 185-223.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. xvi, pp. 189-93.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. xv, p. 194 and Pl. I, 5.

more particularly the case, because a silver shilling on a similarly shaped flan, and with the crowned head of Charles I to the left and the Royal Arms on the reverse, was also accepted by Mr. Willson Yeates as belonging to the light weight prescribed by the Kilkenny coinage, in that this shilling weighs only 61 grains.<sup>1</sup> After the publication of his first article he was interested in finding yet another coin in my collection, a silver sixpence consonant with and weighing little less than half the above-mentioned shilling. His notes concerning his later discoveries were published after his much-lamented death.<sup>2</sup>

But it appears possible that the Confederated Catholics may in truth have intended to circulate a copper token coinage, redeemable in silver should the King's cause prosper, just as the gun-money of James II was later intended to be redeemed.

This suggestion is put forward because some curious copper coins found in Ireland have passed into my hands, and are struck with sufficient care and precision to render it unsafe to dismiss them lightly as the work of a contemporary forger.

I have three of these copper coins, and one of the best specimens is illustrated, together with a sixpence of poor silver found with



SILVER SIXPENCE.

them. The obverse of all four coins is copied from the coinage of Charles I, *circa* 1637-8, mint-mark tun, and those which followed it, and the reverse of the silver specimen is consonant with this model, being of Hawkins type 4, and, in fact, just like the sixpence illustrated in "Further Notes on the Irish Coinage," minus the surrounding square flan, and carefully bounded by the beaded circle.

<sup>1</sup> *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. xv, p. 193, and Pl. I, 4.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. xvi, pp. 190-1, illustrated on p. 190.

It reached accordingly to just half the weight,<sup>1</sup> and the shape of the harp on the reverse of this silver coin is like that on the anchor coinage of 1638-9.



COPPER SIXPENCE.

The copper coins appear to have been struck from a single pair of dies, though a considerable time seems to have elapsed between the three striking, suggestive of a fairly large issue. But as regards these copper coins a curious anomaly presents itself. Slightly larger than the silver sixpence and struck from a different die from the latter, the obverse still suggests the copy of the ordinary "Tower" sixpence of Charles I; the reverse, however, is, for some reason unknown, taken from a Tudor coin. The die-sinker apparently copied directly an Elizabethan milled sixpence, probably of the date 1571, and looking at the coin set before him turned the dexter to sinister. The large heads and small bodies of the lions, one of the characteristics of Tudor heraldry, are very marked, but the lis in the other quarterings are not visible in two out of the three of the rubbed specimens which have come down to us. The date at first sight reads 1521, but on careful examination it appears that the "2" is really copied from a "7" with a prolonged serif found on some Elizabethan coins. The intention probably was to substitute the figures 1642 or 1643 for the 1571 of the original. The die-sinker misunderstood his instructions. We know not why this design was selected; it may be the desire was in some way connected with the mill-and-screw process used for the Elizabethan prototype, for such is the regularity of the striking that it appears almost safe to assume that these coins are the product of some kind of mill, perhaps operated

<sup>1</sup> The sixpence on the square flan illustrated on p. 190 in vol. xvi weighs 29.3 grains, and that here shown 14.7 grains.



by hand like a Spanish one, discovered at Cordova and described in 1914 by Mr. G. F. Hill.<sup>1</sup> We may also refer our readers to the interesting article published in 1908 by the late Fleet-Surgeon Weightman on the Richmond farthings,<sup>2</sup> wherein he describes the copper strips passing between engraved cylinders as the method by which these farthings were probably made, and afterwards punched out or carefully trimmed to the required shape. Our copper pieces are as thin and as evenly struck as the Richmond farthings, and, like them, could not, we think, be struck with the hammer, or the design would have gone through and the edge would have buckled. Be this as it may, and whether the Tudor piece was selected for historical, political or other reasons, such as the simplicity of the device or the fact that it was an early example of a dated coin, it is remarkable that another Tudor characteristic presents itself in a lis instead of a cross in the centre of the royal crown, a peculiarity found in some Elizabethan coins. It is, however, possible that here again the die-sinker erred and copied a Scottish coin of Charles I because his "Tower" sixpence was not clear in its details.

The attribution to the Confederated Catholics is somewhat rash, in that the coins were found at Belfast, a far cry from Kilkenny; but it is possible that they were carried north in the tumult of the times, and, perhaps, thrown away by some fugitive as damnatory evidence. The likeness between the poor silver circular sixpence and that twice its weight on the square flan connects, however, this base issue with the Kilkenny coins, and suggests a desire upon the part of the Confederated Catholics, when the light weight, accepted in October, 1642, became too great a strain on their coffers, either to halve that weight and strike a smaller coin in silver, or to replace it altogether by a copper issue. The weight of the copper pieces varies little—the heaviest turns the scale at 20 grains, the lightest at 18 grains, whilst the most corroded of the three weighs 19·2

<sup>1</sup> "A Seventeenth-Century Coining Press," *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1914, Part I, pp. 90-92.

<sup>2</sup> "The Royal Farthing Tokens," published in the *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. iii, pp. 181-217.



grains. If there was any intention to place a light coating of silver on the copper coins, the final weight is not easy to gauge.

I think we may dismiss the idea which at first occurred to me that the numeral on the obverse was meant to stand for six farthings, a presumption to which the VI on Briot's silver-pattern piece might give rise. It seems most unlikely that an emergency coin should be struck in so unfamiliar a denomination, and the type is not copied from Briot's pattern coin. The weight, moreover, is only about three times that of a "Rose" farthing, Montagu type 5, and four times that of a "Maltravers" farthing, Montagu type 3, or twice the "Richmond" farthing, Montagu type 1. It is, however, fair to say that to judge correctly by the weights of copper farthings of Charles I is difficult, in that the specimens vary greatly. Briot's six-farthing pattern in silver also weighs only half as much as the curious copper coins under discussion. I leave my readers to decide whether I am justified in calling these notes by the title of "*An Emergency Coinage in Ireland.*"







CHARLES EDWARD. BY ANTOINE DAVID.  
(IN THE NATIONAL PORTRAIT GALLERY.)

SOME PORTRAIT-MEDALS STRUCK BETWEEN 1745 AND  
1752 FOR PRINCE CHARLES EDWARD.

BY HELEN FARQUHAR.

**I**T has been my endeavour, at the special request of Mr. Grant R. Francis, to give as full an account as I can of the medals struck for Charles Edward Stuart, known as "Bonnie Prince Charlie" and "The Young Chevalier" by his friends, or as "The Young Pretender" by those of the opposite faction. Some of the medals portraying him in his childhood have been mentioned in my earlier writings on portraiture, whilst the history of his later years formed the subject of my concluding essay on "Touchpieces," and with these it seems unnecessary to deal in detail. The following pages have, however, been called forth by some researches I pursued when Mr. Grant Francis, then our President, did me the honour to question me, concerning the dates of certain medals, whilst he was writing his admirable and interesting article on the Jacobite Glasses, which appeared in the last volume of our *Journal*.

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By the courtesy of the Keeper of Coins and Medals in the British Museum, I had access, some years ago, to certain transcripts made from the Stuart Papers at Windsor Castle for Sir Wollaston Franks, when the latter, with the able assistance of Mr. Herbert Grueber, was preparing the text of *Medallic Illustrations of British History*. Such of these manuscripts as bore upon the medals made by the Roettiers family for James II and his son were, in 1917, utilized by

me in an article on some Roettiers dies, now in the British Museum.<sup>1</sup> But there remained two transcripts which did not affect my then purpose of cataloguing the dies, presented by Matthew Young in 1828 to the nation. These two documents are of later date than the other papers, and refer to the time of Charles Edward, a period which has not yet been reached in the arrangement of the printed *Calendar of Stuart Papers*.

Nevertheless, one of the letters in question has found its way into well-known historical works, Dr. James Browne placing it in its entirety in the Appendix of his *History of the Highlands*,<sup>2</sup> and Lord Mahon partly transcribing it in his *Extracts from the Stuart Papers*.<sup>3</sup> Dr. Browne and Lord Mahon modernized the spelling, and possibly the latter copied from some other draft than that now before me, for slight although unimportant discrepancies appear.

The second paper of which I have the transcript is but a fragment, the postscript probably of some other document not written by the Prince himself. It appears to be the note of a secretary, forwarding a communication of which the rest is not available until the *Calendar of Stuart Papers* is more advanced, if indeed the entire letter be amongst the manuscripts yet unsorted.

As, however, neither of these documents is printed in any medallic work, I may perhaps be permitted to draw attention to the fact that the first of the two imputes to Charles Norbert Roettiers some medals which have been provisionally held to be by Thomas Pingo, although Mr. Hawkins<sup>4</sup> suspected that one at least was struck abroad, and he was followed by Mr. Cochran-Patrick.<sup>5</sup> The second

<sup>1</sup> "Concerning Some Roettiers Dies," *Numismatic Chronicle*, 4th series, vol. xvii, pp. 125-65.

<sup>2</sup> *History of the Highlands and of the Highland Clans*, vol. iv, pp. 30-1, Appendix, Stuart Papers, Letter No. cxxxiii, edition of 1838.

<sup>3</sup> Mahon's *History of England*, 1713-1783, 2nd edition of 1839, vol. 3, Appendix, p. xlvii. The letter does not appear in the 1st edition, published in 1836.

<sup>4</sup> Letter from Mr. Edward Hawkins in *Notes and Queries*, 2nd series, vol. v, p. 417, in May, 1858.

<sup>5</sup> *Medals of Scotland*, published 1884, pl. 14, No. 2, and p. 72.



paper is also worthy of notice, in that it partly elucidates the frequency of re-strikes amongst the Stuart medals and may possibly throw some light on certain copies of earlier medallic portraits of which the date has hitherto been somewhat in doubt.

The first of these transcripts is obviously made from the draft for a letter from Charles James Edward Stuart, the elder son of James Francis Edward, and grandson of James II of England, and was written during his residence at Paris in 1748. Our transcript is undated, but the original, and perhaps corrected, document seen by Browne and Mahon was signed "Charles P." and headed "Paris, le 27 Mars 1748." Browne believed the request to be addressed to Monsieur de Lally, and thinks that an opportune gift of 1,080 livres to the French minister on April 1 following, which is specified in the accounts of George Waters, Junior, the Prince's Banker,<sup>1</sup> may have been intended to purchase the official sanction to a course which Charles had already pursued, in ordering without the French King's permission certain medals from the latter's engraver. Mahon, on the other hand, believed the letter, which we will now print, to be addressed to Monsieur de Puysieux, French Minister for Foreign Affairs, but whether on positive or circumstantial evidence does not appear. In favour of this ascription we may point out that the next letter transcribed by Browne from the Windsor collection is one asking Puysieux to show some document therein enclosed to Louis XV.<sup>2</sup> But whether the enclosure was actually the following, now copied from the transcript with all faults, does not seem clear, and Browne, although printing the papers consecutively, does not state whether they were numbered to succeed one another at Windsor, and in this case the star which denotes that the old numbering has been preserved is absent.

" Mes amis en Angleterre m'ayant demandé Mr. d'y faire passer un nombre de medailles j'en ay fait graver une icy par

<sup>1</sup> *History of the Highlands*. In the text in vol. iii, note to p. 386, Browne mentions 1,000 livres, but the accounts give the sum as 1,080 in vol. iv, p. 54, Appendix from the MS. Stuart Papers.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 31, Letter No. cxxxiv, MS. Stuart Papers.

le Sr Rotier<sup>1</sup> qui apres m'en avoir donné l'empreinte ma dit quil ne pouvoit les frapper sans un ordre de votre part j'ignorois a la verite le necessité d'une permission et n'en pouvois prevoir la consequence politique cependant pour parer au plus petit inconvenient qui en eut pu resulter j'avois requis le Sr Roettier de ne point mettre Paris sur sa medaille, ny meme son nom, et pour remplir en meme tems l'objet de l'amour propre naturel a un ouvrier pour son ouvrage nous somme convenus quil ny mettroit que les lettres initiales C.N.R.f.<sup>2</sup> qui se peuvent rendre par *C'est ne rien faire* comme S.P.Q.R.<sup>3</sup> se rendent par *si peu que rien*, quant a la datte de la medaille le lieu et l'ouvrier n'étant pas designe vous conviendriez comme moy que le tems ne fait rien a la chose, vous priant d'ailleurs de vouloir bien envoyer chercher le Sr Roettier de vous faire représenter l'empreinte et de luy donner vos ordres pour que cette medaille soit frappée comme vous jugerez quel convient quelle le soit.

" Il est facheux de n'avoir que des bagatelles a proposer a quelquun dont je connois le zele et l'amitié pour moy dans des choses bien plus essentielles si occasion y etoit la mesure de ma reconnoissance n'en est pas pour cela plus bornee et je me flatte que vous rendez justice aux sentiments que j'auray toujours pour vous."<sup>4</sup>

From the above letter, with all its mistakes in orthography peculiar to Prince Charles, and the gibes he constantly directed at the French ministers for the dilatoriness of their assistance, we see that he had ordered a medal without official sanction from an engraver at the French Mint, namely, Charles Norbert Roettiers, whose usual

<sup>1</sup> Mahon in a note inserts the name *Nicolas*, but this is probably a mistake for *Norbert*, for reference is made later to the artist's signature as "C.N.R.," and these were the initials with which Charles Norbert Roettiers signed his work. I have found no member of the Roettiers family called Nicholas or Nicolas, excepting the grandson of Norbert, James Nicholas, who was not born until 1736.

<sup>2</sup> Browne and Mahon omit the "C" and transcribe the letter as "N.R.F." = "Ne rien faire."

<sup>3</sup> *Senatus Populus Que Romanus*.

<sup>4</sup> Browne states that the letter is signed thus: "Votre bon ami Charles P."

signature was "C.N.R.f.," the "f" standing for  *fils*—not the ordinary *fecit*. This Charles Norbert was the son of Joseph Charles Roettiers, who had succeeded his cousin Norbert as Engraver-General of the French Mint in 1727. Charles Norbert, who in his turn held this post in succession to his father from 1753 until his death in November, 1772, and that of "Graveur Particulier" from 1759 onward,<sup>1</sup> was born in 1720, and was the grandson of Joseph Roettiers, one of the talented trio of brothers who worked in England for Charles II in the seventeenth century. The young engraver, although not yet in the chief office, was responsible to the French Court for his actions.

The political position of the moment, when Prince Charles wrote the letter printed above, was such that any appearance of fostering the claims of the Stuart Princes was much to be avoided, in that the French plenipotentiaries were in the midst of their discussions at the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle, ending in the expulsion of the young Chevalier from France. The Congress opened on March 11, and the preliminaries were adjusted and signed by the French, English and Dutch, on April 30, new style.

It seems probable that Roettiers was in the habit of working unquestioned for Prince Charles, and that the difficulties arose only from the situation of the moment. The engraver's name appears three times in the year 1748, in Waters' accounts,<sup>2</sup> as the recipient of payments, and two of these occasions follow rapidly on the date of the Prince's letter. The first entry, that of May 4, does not particularize the numbers struck, and reads: "Idem to Bearer, Roettiers for medals." The sum paid was 1,858 livres 18 sols and 6 deniers. It seems likely that this payment was for making the dies and submitting the proofs, mentioned by Charles in his request for permission to strike the medals, unless we believe that the remuneration referred to a previous transaction. Prompt payment

<sup>1</sup> In this office he succeeded another cousin also called Joseph Charles Roettiers, but distinguished from Charles Norbert's father by the title of "de la Bretèche." Mr. Forrer writes that the work of de la Bretèche has not been identified, but he is believed to have cut dies for the small currency.

<sup>2</sup> Browne's *History of the Highlands*, vol. iv, pp. 54-5.

was not amongst the habits of the Stuart, and presumptive evidence has been cited suggesting that the first issue of one of the Prince's medals was not long after the event which the medal commemorates, namely, the expedition of 1745. The second entry, under date May 22, accurately particularizes the metal as silver and brass, and reads: "Idem to Roettiers, engravers, for 400 silver counters and 200 brass medals, 1,539 livres 10 sols 9 deniers." The third memorandum of September 26 runs: "Idem to Roettiers for ten silver medals and 200 brass," and amounts to 584 livres 8 sols. The words "silver counters" are rather suggestive that Charles was distributing some of the jettons, representing his father as a child, the dies being in the hands of the late Norbert's son, James Roettiers, and the engravers are, as we see here, mentioned in the plural, but "silver counters" may indicate the small *Amor et Spes* medals. It is, of course, impossible to guess how long a time elapsed between the striking of the medals and the payment; it may, however, be remarked that the last-mentioned date, September 26, was but eleven days before the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle was finally signed, and less than the same number of weeks before Charles was obliged to leave France, and was forcibly deprived of the power of visiting Paris, excepting in secret. It is true that such secret visits were several times made with the connivance of the ministers, who remained satisfied with his public expulsion on December 11, 1748, and his escort across the frontier into Savoy, and by this connivance Charles frequently profited. Equally meteoric were the Prince's visits to England, and a thin card in his handwriting amongst the Stuart Papers gives the exact date of one of these secret excursions to both capitals in September, 1750—"Arrived A[ntwerp] ye 6th parted from there ye 12 Sept. E[ngland] ye 14th and at L[ondon] ye 16th. Parted from L[ondon] ye 22nd and arrived at P[aris] ye 24th. From P[aris] parted ye 28th."<sup>1</sup> Unfortunately accounts rendered by the Paris Banker in the years 1750 and 1752, when the Prince again issued medals, are not available.

<sup>1</sup> Extract from the MS. Stuart Papers at Windsor Castle, published in *The Times*, December 27, 1864, p. 8, by B. B. Woodward, Librarian to Queen Victoria.

Let us now see whether the medallie portrait made by Roettiers can be identified from the contemporary writings of the time. A considerable amount of excitement was raised in France over the design of a medal issued by Charles in that country about this period. No writer gives the exact date, but the matter is always described after his younger brother had accepted the Cardinal's hat, and usually in connection with the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, which caused the excessive, although perhaps not unnatural, temper displayed by the Prince at the withdrawal of French hospitality.<sup>1</sup> The editor of *The Lockhart Papers*,<sup>2</sup> when publishing in 1817 the narrative of events from 1702 to 1728, written by George Lockhart of Carnwath, included at the end of the second volume several papers—namely, the “Journall and Memoirs of P . . . C . . . Expedition into Scotland,” an “Account of Events at Inverness and Culloden,” “An Account of the Young Pretender's Escape,” and an “Account of what happened to the young Pretender after his arrival in France, as related by persons in Paris in letters to their friends in England.” These letters, published, it is stated, separately in 1749, had been locked up in 1750 by George Lockhart's son with his father's memoirs, although the “Account of what happened” was not written until several years after the death of the elder Lockhart, and the authorship is not given,<sup>3</sup> but it affords

<sup>1</sup> See *A Short and True Narrative of the Rebellion*, published 1779, p. 145, *Ascanius the Young Adventurer*, and other contemporary histories.

<sup>2</sup> *The Lockhart Papers* were published in 1817 by Anthony Aufrere by desire of his brother-in-law, George Lockhart's great-grandson. The author, dying in 1731, had given directions that the MSS. should not be opened until 1750, but that moment being deemed unpropitious by Mr. Lockhart's son, he placed the manuscripts in a sealed box, together with the letters concerning the later years which had elapsed since his father's death.

<sup>3</sup> Whether all these Papers were by the same hand is not stated, but the “Journal” and “Memoirs” were, according to Andrew Lang, written by one Allan Macdonald of Morar. See *Origins of the Forty-Five*, by W. B. Laikie, LL.D., pp. 81–2, vol. ii, where the author quotes Mr. Lang as being unable to give of his own authority “but certain of its authenticity.” Dr. Laikie had heard in Moidart that the “Journal” was by young Ranald of Kinloch Moidart, but without proof. The “Account” quoted above is in parts almost word for word like that published in *Ascanius*.

contemporary information and was quoted by Sir Wollaston Franks and Mr. Grueber in describing two of Prince Charles's medals.<sup>1</sup> We find then, in the second volume of *The Lockhart Papers*, on p. 570, the following account of Prince Charles Edward's conduct shortly before his final rupture with the French Court: "The first public indication he gave of how little he prized the future friendship of France was to cause a great number of medals to be cast,<sup>2</sup> with his head, and this inscription: CAROLUS WALLIÆ PRINCEPS, and on the reverse, *Britannia* and shipping with this motto: AMOR ET SPES BRITANNIÆ.<sup>3</sup> Of these, some were of silver, and others of copper, the latter of which



"AMOR ET SPES" MEDAL.

(*Medallic Illustrations*, vol. ii, p. 600, No. 251.)

he took care to have so distributed that few of any tolerable rank but had one of them. Everybody was surprised at the device, and some knew not what to make of it; but they who considered that France was reduced to the condition of being glad of a peace, entirely by the bravery and success of the English fleet, looked upon it as an insult; and the Ministry are said to have been so much offended at it that they complained to the King and pretended that some

<sup>1</sup> *Medallic Illustrations of British History*, vol. ii, pp. 600-1, Nos. 251-2.

<sup>2</sup> The word "cast," here carelessly used, carries no weight; the writer probably means *struck*, for no "cast" medals are known of the type described.

<sup>3</sup> This use of the genitive "BRITANNIÆ" in the motto appears in all histories, but the legend actually engraved on this medal is "AMOR ET SPES," and the word "BRITANNIA" is in exergue below the figure. In an engraving made in 1749 by Sir Robert Strange, see our Plate facing p. 183, the "BRITANNIÆ" is adopted.



notice should be taken of it; to which His Majesty replied that "the P——e doubtless had his reasons, but that whatever they were, as he could not be called to an account, nothing should be said on the occasion." The narrator further refers to the design of the medal, repeating a conversation between the Prince de Conti and Prince Charles. The former, it seems, sneeringly remarked that "the British navy were no very good friends" to the exile's cause. To this not too courteous comment Charles replied: "Celas est vrai, Prince, mais je suis nonobstant l'ami de la Flotte contre tous ses ennemis, comme je regarderai toujours la gloire de l'Angleterre comme la mienne et sa gloire est dans sa flotte."<sup>1</sup>

There can be little doubt of the type of the medal which attracted so much attention, but the chief difficulty lies with the date. Both sizes of the *Amor et Spes* medal, that measuring 1.65 (*Medallic Illustrations*, vol. ii, p. 600, No. 251), and the smaller version, 1.2 in diameter (*Medallic Illustrations*, vol. ii, p. 601, No. 252), bear the date of the Prince's invasion, namely, 1745, and yet the letter requesting permission for the striking of the medal was written in the end of March, 1748. Although the transcript in the British Museum is undated, there can hardly be any mistake in the matter, for both Mahon and Browne, who supplied the date, had access separately to the MS. Stuart Papers, and the story printed in *The Lockhart Papers* applies to the situation in 1748 rather than in 1745. It is obvious that Charles specially desired that the new medal should commemorate his romantic effort to recapture the crown, and therefore wished the figures 1745 engraved beneath the bust, and that it should thus be ante-dated for presentation to those who had helped him in his adventure. This seems the more likely, as Charles was very desirous the date should remain, whereas that of the current year 1748 was without significance to him or to his supporters. The offence, moreover, of attracting the attention to the matter of a past

<sup>1</sup> *Lockhart Papers*, vol. ii, p. 571. See also Browne's *History of the Highlands*, vol. iii, p. 386; *The Rebellion in Scotland, 1745-6*, published by Robert Chambers in 1827; and vol. ii, p. 277 in Constable's *Miscellany*, vols. xv and xvi.



history would be small, as compared with the placing of the actual date of the moment when France in 1748 was desiring peace. It is not unlikely, as we have seen from the accounts kept by George Waters, that the Prince merely desired a larger version of the medal already extant. This theory is supported by traditional evidence attached to an example described by a correspondent to *Notes and Queries* in 1858, who signed himself "Y. S. M."<sup>1</sup> The writer stated that a relative of his possessed one out of three examples of the *Amor et Spes* medal, which had been saved by Prince Charles's Secretary when the bulk of the medals were thrown overboard for fear of capture, his ship being chased by an English man-of-war, when "the Prince was on his way to Scotland." This incident probably refers to the time when the man-of-war *Lion* overtook the *Doutelle* and the *Elizabeth* and engaged the latter, injuring her so much that she was compelled to retire to Brest, on July 16, 1745, whilst Charles escaped to Scotland in the *Doutelle*. The writer believed that the person from whom his relative had acquired his specimen had obtained it from the Secretary's great-grandson, "whose name he thinks was Dillon," but whether this applies to the Secretary or the great-grandson is not clear.

The Dillons<sup>2</sup> were prominent members of the Jacobite adherents

<sup>1</sup> *Notes and Queries*, February, 1858, 2nd series, vol. v, p. 148.

<sup>2</sup> The Dillon Regiment was founded originally in 1654, was disbanded in 1664, was re-formed in 1668, and was always commanded by a member of Lord Dillon's family. See a rare pamphlet entitled *Stuart-Irish Regiments in France*. "A picket of Dillon's 50 men" were upon one of six transports sent from France with contingents from each of three Irish regiments at the end of November, 1745. See *Affairs of Scotland*, p. 356. "One of the French ships, the *Louis XV*, was captured by the English Man-of-war *Milford*, and a number of the officers and men were made prisoners." See *Origin of the Forty-Five*, pp. 132 and 352. "The Highlanders in their turn seized the *Hazard* Sloop. This ship, with her name changed to '*Prince Charles Stewart*,' was of great service to him until retaken by the English at Tongue with French officers and troops on board in March, 1746, but the Irish men taken were of Clare's and Berwick's Regiment and not of Dillon's. Those captured near Ostend in February, 1746, were of FitzJames's Regiment." See *Affairs of Scotland*, p. 410, and *Scots Magazine*, vol. viii, pp. 88, 96, 146, 183 and 238. We note that 300 Irish fought at Culloden. See Plan of the Battle in *Affairs of Scotland*, p. 433.

at the French Court, and one of the family always had commanded the "Regiment de Dillon," one of the Irish regiments there. Some of these Irish troops who had served James II against William III were amongst the contingent of 150 men, 50 of Dillon's, 50 of Lally's, and 50 of Ormond's regiment, who were sent over under Lord John Drummond towards the end of November, 1745. But no Dillon, so far as we are aware, can have been on board the *Doutelle*, certainly not amongst the "seven men of Moidart" who accompanied Charles when he landed in July in Scotland. The Prince's successive secretaries were John Murray of Broughton, who joined him at Moy in August, 1745; Andrew Lumisden, and shortly afterwards John Hay of Restalrig, in 1746; and George Kelly, in 1747; and one John Goodwillie is mentioned as his Under Secretary during the Jacobite occupation of Edinburgh.<sup>1</sup> Of these Kelly alone travelled with him from France and may have done secretarial work for him, having been in his service since 1744. If I be right in suggesting either of the above dates as an explanation of the tradition advanced by "Y. S. M.," there is room for a theory that the *Amor et Spes* medals were originally designed in the year 1745, or at least before the termination of the campaign.

Mr. Cochran-Patrick was of opinion that a distribution of *Amor et Spes* medals took place earlier than is usually believed, for he quotes some jingle referring to the medal written by Dugal Graham, Bellman of Glasgow,<sup>2</sup> which he believed to have been published in 1746:—

" While he at Paris did reside  
Were silver and copper medals made,  
With an inscription thus exprest  
'CAROLUS WALLIÆ PRINCEPS,'  
This in letters round the head,  
On the reverse 'BRITANNIA' read.

<sup>1</sup> *Reminiscences of Lieut.-Col. Puddiman Stewart*, p. ix, privately printed.

<sup>2</sup> *Collected Works*, published 1883, vol. i, p. 220, quoted by Mr. Cochran-Patrick in his *Medals of Scotland*, in describing the *Amor et Spes* medal, pl. xiv, No. 2.

Then ships with this motto you'd see  
'AMOR ET SPES BRITANNIÆ.'  
This did offend the French grandees  
And did the King with him displease.  
It did inform them, that he thought  
His pay was poor for what he brought."

If this part of the poem were really of so early a date, it would appear that some annoyance had been felt at the first issue of the medal, and that the decisive victories fought by Anson near Finisterre and Admiral Hawke off Belleisle, in 1747, increased this resentment to such an extent that Roettiers, who had anonymously worked for Charles in 1745 or 1746, feared to continue his offices in 1748 without direct authority from the French King.<sup>1</sup> The more especially would this seem to be a plausible explanation, in that the Prince suggested no signature beyond one in monogram form. But is Mr. Cochran-Patrick right in so dating this part of the poem? I think not.

The edition of Dugal Graham's works to which Mr. Cochran-Patrick refers is a reprint of the third issue of the poem, an issue which did not appear until 1774, and avowedly contained many additions and alterations from the original published in 1746 and even from that which succeeded it in 1752. These two earlier editions have disappeared, and it is therefore impossible to make sure; but the matter preceding the verses indicates a later date than 1746, reference being made to the journey of Prince Charles to Spain in March, 1747, and to the cardinal's hat bestowed upon the Duke of York, an event of the month of July in the same year. Be this as it may, no medals signed "C.N.R.f." were issued, and although an electrotype of a later medal of Prince Charles in the British Museum bears

<sup>1</sup> Authority had to be obtained for striking medals at the Paris Mint for private persons, but the request for permission was usually a mere matter of form. Professor Barnard, in his *The Casting Counter and The Counter Board*, pp. 60-3, gives a list of such permissions granted at various times, and amongst others specifies some counters made at Rouen, in 1714, for James, the father of Prince Charles.





*British Museum  
No. 100000  
1800*

ENGRAVING BY ROBERT STRANGE AFTER THE "AMOR ET SPES" MEDAL.

an incised letter "R," this momentarily confusing fact is explained as the signature of the late Robert Ready, who was wont to put some sign on the electrotypes made by him to prevent confusion with the genuine article. The very attractive line-engraving, a free rendering of the *Amor et Spes* medals here reproduced on our facing page, from a rare example in the British Museum Print Room, was the product of Robert Strange's burin when he was living in exile in Rouen in 1749, after serving in the Prince's troop of Life Guards in the '45. According to a note in the reference Catalogue at the British Museum, the engraving was used in the heading to some eulogistic verses concerning Charles and issued as a broadsheet. The verses, now no longer beneath the picture, begin as follows :—

"The Christian heroe's looks here shine."

They are quoted *in extenso* by Bishop Forbes in *The Lyon in Mourning*.<sup>1</sup>

There were seven different medallic portraits much resembling one another, in various sizes, issued between 1735<sup>2</sup> and 1752. All bear the profile to left of Prince Charlie; they all represent him with short curly hair and undraped bust. They were combined with differing reverses, and it is doubtful whether the largest of them, if accepted by the Prince at all, was frequently presented, for it is only known, as we shall see later, in a complete form as a *re-strike*.<sup>3</sup> The smallest, on the other hand, is merely a tiny gold medallion (*Medallic Illustrations*, vol. ii, p. 601, No. 253) without inscription or reverse, and has been thought to have been probably designed by a seal engraver or jeweller as an ornament, but it is so closely allied to the larger medals that I should hesitate to deprive Charles Roettiers of the honour of its execution or transfer it to his

<sup>1</sup> *The Lyon in Mourning*, vol. ii, p. 359, of the edition published in 1895, edited by Henry Paton in the Scottish History Society's vol. xxi.

<sup>2</sup> The medallion of 1735 is only known by a wax impression, of which more anon.

<sup>3</sup> *Medallic Illustrations*, vol. ii, p. 656, No. 360.

cousin James, the goldsmith. Leaving this small ornament and its yet earlier prototype of 1735 aside for the moment, let us discuss the five more important medals to the best of our ability in the usually accepted chronological order.

Firstly, then, we should place the smaller of the two *Amor et Spes* medals (*Medallic Illustrations*, vol. ii, p. 601, No. 252). I think it takes precedence of the larger, because we have seen the charge for making 600 examples, of which 400 were silver and 200 brass, was only three times as much as the cost of 10 silver and 200 brass medals a little later.<sup>1</sup> There remains, however, the possibility that of the 600, 400 "counters" in silver were not of this type.



SMALL "AMOR ET SPES" MEDAL.

(*Medallic Illustrations*, vol. ii, p. 601, No. 252.)

Secondly, we place the larger medal of the same design and same legend (*Medallic Illustrations*, vol. ii, p. 600, No. 251), illustrated on p. 178, the medal which we venture to suggest may, perhaps, have been the subject of Prince Charles's correspondence. If so we must conclude that the date 1745 was allowed to stand, but the artist's initials were not permitted. We shall, however, find that a different form of signature was substituted. Mr. W. J. Andrew has called my attention to the fact that the letters "C.N.R.f." standing for Charles Norbert Roettiers fils, to which Prince Charles had referred, were replaced by a sign-manual or rebus, a rock which appears in the foreground. Mr. Andrew has noticed that this rebus was in use with other members of the Roettiers family; we find it

<sup>1</sup> Browne's *History of the Highlands*, vol. iv, pp. 54-5, September 20, 1748—Waters' Accounts.



on signed as well as unsigned jettons representing the Prince's father, engraved by Norbert Roettiers in 1697.<sup>1</sup> At this date, when (although the artist himself had been for some time settled in France), the affairs of the Mint were causing much trouble to his father in England, and accusations were also levelled against Norbert, it surprises us to find that he initialled his head of the little Prince, using only on the reverse the rebus. We notice the rock again on a medal of 1704.<sup>2</sup> It was a simple matter in the case of the *Amor et Spes* medal to alter the die by cutting the rock where the initials may originally have been. I was tempted for a moment to find in the French word *rocher* the explanation of the symbol, for the engravers were domiciled in France. But the family were Netherlanders from Antwerp, and the name is in the Netherlands pronounced "Roteers." Now the Dutch for rock is *rots*, and in the plural *rotsen*. To go one step further, if we take the curling seaweed into our reckoning, we have almost a complete signature, C. N. Roet. . . . .s, by transposing the "s," the "e" and the "n," and using the weed as a "c." But this further development is somewhat far-fetched and unconvincing, although the blades of grass may possibly stand for initials.

Mr. Andrew suggests a much better explanation, namely, that the curling tendrils form part of the rebus for Rottiers, the "eers" being the ears of corn called in Netherlandish "aer," or "aar." A rebus, as is well known, is purely phonetic, with little attention to spelling. This would not prevent slight differences in the rendering of the growing corn denoting different members of the family, and I might point to many a medal by the elder Roettiers in the time of Charles II where the reverse bears the rebus. These artists had no reason for secrecy, and when we find the rock and weeds on the *Felicitas Britanniae* medal of May, 1660 (*Medallic Illustrations*, vol. i, p. 460, No. 53), or the *Christ's Hospital* medal (*Medallic Illustrations*, vol. i, p. 556, No. 217), we may wonder

<sup>1</sup> *Medallic Illustrations*, vol. ii, pp. 193-5, Nos. 501-5.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 270, No. 71.

whether another student with younger eyes than mine might find it worth while to identify the punches used by Joseph, by John, by Philip, by James, by Norbert, by Joseph Charles, by Charles Norbert, by James de la Tour, by Joseph Charles de la Bretèche, and by George Roettiers respectively. The fact that the reverse of the *Medal of the Oak* is signed in the same manner leads us to our third design.

Mr. Hawkins was somewhat reluctantly convinced by fairly strong evidence in favour of Pingo, and looked for and detected small differences in technique with respect to the portraits. Personally I am inclined to think that there is more than one die, but I feel sure



THE "MEDAL OF THE OAK."

(*Medallic Illustrations*, vol. ii, p. 655, No. 359.)

he would gladly have decided that the same hand wrought the reverse of the *Oak Medal* and the larger *Amor et Spes* medal, in view of the rebus, had he noticed it. Examine the average specimens of both obverses through a microscope, and we shall find in the portrait of Charles that but one and the same puncheon was used for the two medals.

Let us turn to the story of the *Oak Medal* therefore, and sift the evidence, placing it third in point of time on our list.

The *Medal of the Oak* as we are told in *Medallic Illustrations*, vol. ii, p. 655, No. 359, was issued in 1750, not by the Prince, but by a Jacobite Club in London. Rather more than a hundred years after the issue of the medal it was declared to be the work of Thomas Pingo, as was deduced from evidence printed in *Notes and Queries*

which we shall put before our readers presently. It was but a short step to suggest the hand of the same artist to be discernible in the two *Amor et Spes* specimens described above, and in other medals of the same design, but with a different legend; but it is observable that in his private notes Mr. Edward Hawkins at some uncertain date passed his pen through the name of Pingo which he had written against his description of the two *Amor et Spes* medals and of the tiny gold medallion.

The *Medal of the Oak* was struck for a Jacobite Society called "The Oak Society," which used to meet at the "Crown and Anchor" opposite St. Clement's Church, where it appears one John Caryll had charge of the medals in 1750.

The evidence for attributing this "Oak Medal" to Thomas Pingo was considered fairly conclusive. A correspondent of *Notes and Queries*, in February, 1855,<sup>1</sup> in a letter signed "Chas. S. Greaves, Q.C.," described the *Medal of the Oak*, stating that, according to aural tradition derived from Mr. Greaves's grandmother, the specimen in the writer's possession had been given to her direct ancestor, Colonel Goring,<sup>2</sup> by Prince Charles himself, and Mr. Greaves stated that his grandmother was ten years old when the medal was struck. An editorial note suggests Italy as its place of provenance, and remarks that the same portrait appeared in different sizes in 1745, 1750 and 1752.

This discussion provoked in December, 1856, an answer from one who signed himself "M.O.P." suggesting that the medal, with the oak on the reverse, was really struck in England in 1750, and disclaiming any foreign origin for it.<sup>3</sup> He explained that he held not only one of the dies of the obverse, but also the receipts for

<sup>1</sup> *Notes and Queries*, 1st series, vol. xi, pp. 84-5, February, 1855.

<sup>2</sup> Henry Goring was from the outset one of the most loyal supporters of the Prince, and even followed him in his wanderings from 1747 to 1754, when Charles somewhat ungratefully dispensed with his services, and Goring accepted a commission in Prussia under the auspices of the Earl Marischal. See *Affairs of Scotland*, by David Lord Elcho, edited by the Hon. Evan Charteris, p. 448.

<sup>3</sup> *Notes and Queries*, 2nd series, vol. ii, p. 494.

examples made of gold, silver and copper. The first receipt is one for a guinea in prepayment in 1749, but the charges for striking are of 1750, the date upon the medal.

According to the receipts, Mr. Pingo was paid for striking them at the rate of ninepence each, payments being made to him through one Alexander Johnston. A specimen bill is given, from which it appears that the 22 silver medals struck in March, 1750, weighed 12 ozs. 12½ dwts., at 6s. 1d. per oz., whilst from 14 lbs. 2 ozs. of copper, at 2s. 6d. per lb., medals were struck, but the result as regards the number of the latter is not then stated. The medals were sometimes solid, others were bound together with a collar, "in separate pieces." Sixpence was charged for collaring. There were seven bills and receipts stamped with a seal in the form of a rosette. These accounts and the die were later submitted to a contemporary engraver of medals, a Mr. Taylor, and to Mr. Edward Hawkins of the British Museum, and further particularized by the latter in *Notes and Queries* in May, 1858.<sup>1</sup> He showed that Thomas Pingo (the Christian name being occasionally mentioned) was at various times paid for striking the *Medal of the Oak*. He tells us that the expense of cutting the die was £88 16s., but my readers will kindly note, for this is important, it is not stated in the "Oak Society's" books by whom it was cut, the money being paid by the hands of one Stephen Dillon, and we have no certainty that the money was not transmitted to Roettiers. The bills for *striking* the medals, however, mention Thomas Pingo by name. We are tempted to wonder whether Mr. Stephen Dillon was connected with the mysterious Dillon who saved three specimens of the *Amor et Spes* medal from destruction; whether he acted as agent between Roettiers and the Club; and whether he suggested recourse to Roettiers for dies, and a fresh design for the reverse of the *Oak Medal*.

Each member of the Society was entitled to a medal in copper in return for his £1 1s. subscription, but if he preferred silver the cost of the metal, 3s. 9½d., was charged, or if he chose gold there

<sup>1</sup> *Notes and Queries*, 2nd series, vol. v, p. 417.

was no fixed rate, and the six medals struck in the more precious metal are variously priced from £3 19s. to £4 4s. 9d., according to weight. The number of the specimens struck, according to the bills in the possession of "M.O.P.," was as follows: 6 in gold, 102 in silver, 283 in copper and 50 in soft metal.<sup>1</sup> A few specimens were left on hand, and it appears that when the Club was dissolved some 20 in copper and 2 in silver came into the hands of a West End firm many years ago and have been slowly dispersed.<sup>2</sup>

In view of the fact that the sinking of one die only is mentioned, and that this die is for the obverse, I am inclined to suggest that Roettiers sent over the two dies obverse and reverse complete, the latter bearing the sign-manual, and probably also a puncheon for the head, which bears no signature. Further, that on some accident happening to the obverse die Pingo sank a new one by the aid of this puncheon, and my belief is strengthened by a memory impression I have, that in some specimens which I have seen, possibly also in those submitted to Mr. Hawkins, I have detected tiny differences in the final finish of a curl here and there. But microscopic examinations of the average specimens were carried out by Mr. Andrew and Mr. G. C. Brooke independently, and both agree that the puncheon used for the *Oak Medal* is that originally made for the *Amor et Spes* medal figured on p. 178. There is, of course, as we have said, the alternative that the payment for the die in question was not made to Pingo, but to some agent of C. N. Roettiers, or that Pingo made another medal altogether.

Purchased from the collection of the late Sir Charles Dilke, and perhaps actually the die once in the possession of "M.O.P.," although

<sup>1</sup> Unless some of the copper mentioned above was used as alloy, the amount of 14 lb. 2 oz. should have made more than 283 medals. The average copper specimen weighs rather more than half an ounce (that at the British Museum 252½ grains), so that 323 copper medals should have resulted; but to the 283 we may perhaps add the "50 in soft metal."

<sup>2</sup> I have one of these copper specimens, and another is in the West Highland Museum. They were sold to a well-known firm, each specimen carefully wrapped in contemporary paper, as I am courteously informed.

of this latter circumstance we lack evidence, an obverse die is now in the collection of Mr. C. W. Tomkins, who kindly allows me to mention that it exactly fits the obverse of the *Oak Medal*. Also he is so good as to inform me that he possesses some clichés joined together by a collar, and we have just noticed that "M.O.P." referred to these, stating that the charge made for collaring was sixpence.<sup>1</sup> Mr. Tomkins makes the interesting suggestion that these were badges or tickets of admission to the meetings, as they are pierced or have an attachment for suspension and are uniformly worn in surface.

These uniface clichés do not stand alone, for we have evidence, as we shall see, that watch-cases were struck in 1750 in Paris with the same head of Prince Charles and sent to England. They were described by an "English spy" in Paris as bearing, instead of the Prince's name, the motto: LOOK LOVE AND FOLLOW.<sup>2</sup> Our member, Mr. Baldwin, is the fortunate possessor of one of these Jacobite relics, or more probably a proof for the same, being in pewter and in splendid condition. He kindly exhibited it when I read this paper before the Society. We have not been so fortunate as to see any other example thus lettered either on a watch or as a medallion. A beautiful uniface proof of the *Amor et Spes* medal, of the obverse only, exists in gold in the collection of Lieut.-Colonel A. K. Stewart of Achnacone, who exhibited it at the West Highland Stuart Exhibition at Fort William in 1925. It bears the title round the head "CAROLUS WALLIÆ PRINCEPS," but the lower edge is fractured, so that the date, 1745, is missing. This date, however, as Colonel Stewart kindly tells me, is supplied in handwriting on the old paper with which the cliché is backed as near as possible to the absent part. He further informs me that in the case with the gold shell a faint paper impression of a portrait of James II has always been preserved, bearing the legend "IACOBVS · II · DEI · GRATIA." It presents a head like that on this King's pattern for a sixty-shilling piece, only reversed,

<sup>1</sup> *Notes and Queries*, 2nd series, vol. ii, p. 494.

<sup>2</sup> *Pickle the Spy*, by Andrew Lang, p. 110. For the purposes of this careful historical story, Mr. Lang had access to the *Stuart Papers* and other private MSS.



namely, to left instead of to the right. Was there another medal projected with the portraits of grandfather and grandson on obverse and reverse?

There is another medal usually assigned to the year 1750 which must next claim our attention, with the passing thought, can this have been a pattern executed for the same Club as the *Oak Medal*? If Pingo was really the recipient from the "Oak Society" of £88 16s. for cutting a die, can this be the die in question? It may be, nay probably is, by Pingo, but apparently not made for the "Oak Society" in 1750 at the "Crown and Anchor." According to Mr.



MEDAL WITH "SEMPER ARMIS NUNC ET INDUSTRIA" ON THE REVERSE.

(*Medallic Illustrations*, vol. ii, p. 656, No. 360.)

Cochran-Patrick: "In the Cotton Sale (1790) there was sold (lot 6) a pair of dyes of the Pretender struck for a Society at Queen's Arms Tavern, St. Paul's." Mr. Cochran-Patrick suggests that "possibly this may be the medal."<sup>1</sup> He also says there is "another version that the dies were found in the Castle of Edinburgh." Should the latter rumour be correct, it seems unlikely that the medal should have been engraved later than 1745 or 1746. I certainly do not press this point, and mention it in that in all Pingo's medals the

<sup>1</sup> *The Medals of Scotland*, Pl. XII, fig. 3, and p. 75, No. 62, note i. According to *Medallic Illustrations*, Pl. CLXXIV, No. 2, the re-strikes exist in gold as well as bronze and pewter, but personally I have only seen them in the two latter metals.



obverse is better than the reverse. Whoever was the designer thereof, the medal was not approved and no complete contemporary specimen is known. It is usually assigned to Thomas Pingo; and Mr. Louis Forrer, in his *Dictionary of Medallists*, has illustrated it as typical of this artist's workmanship, and it was tentatively so ascribed in *Medallic Illustrations*.

One privileged as I have been to place side by side the whole sequence of medals now in the British Museum cannot fail to be struck with the inferiority of this medal to those we have before described, and it is with a feeling of relief that we notice that the Roettiers rebus is absent. Mr. Hawkins, in the discussion which we have epitomised from *Notes and Queries*, placed it amongst the copies from the original "foreign artist's" *Amor et Spes* medals.

The *Semper Armis* medal in its entirety is known only, as I have said, in the form of a re-strike, although I was fortunate enough to find a contemporary trial-piece of the reverse which I presented to the British Museum, and electrotypes from Mr. Cochran-Patrick's re-strike are in the National Collection. The medal is of decidedly poor design as regards the reverse; the figures are out of proportion; and the Prince's Highland costume seems unconvincing. The portrait is rather lifeless on the obverse, but it is specially on the reverse that we remark the inferior workmanship. It may have been rejected on this account, and, as I have said, I lay no claim to it as the work of Roettiers, with whose signed medals I have compared the various pieces; but it may well be that Pingo modelled it.

There seems reason from documentary evidence to believe that the tiny head, even if of earlier execution, became popular in 1750. Let us therefore consider the known facts concerning it before we continue the more important discussion of the larger medals.

Here, then, we place the tiny medallion without either inscription or reverse. It was placed in *Medallic Illustrations of British History* amongst medals of the year 1745, and it may well be that rings bearing this portrait were given away by the Prince during or shortly after the expedition to Scotland. But the only positive proof as to the date of issue is of the year 1750, proof which was not available

when *Medallic Illustrations* was first published in 1887. The suggestion made originally by Mr. Hawkins and printed in the first edition of this indispensable work, that it was "intended to be set in a ring," has been corroborated by specimens shown at the recent exhibition of Stuart relics at Fort William. A supposition later advanced that it might have been used as a tongue token lacks support, or, perhaps, it would be fairer to say that we have evidence concerning the rings only. The exhibition organized by our member Mr. Victor Hodgson in the West Highland Museum at Fort William in the autumn of 1925, threw much light on *Prince Charles Edward and the '45 Campaign*, to quote the title of the official catalogue. Amongst the loans, No. 139 was a "Ring of King James VIII," lent by Mr. John Stuart, which bears the tiny portrait of Prince Charles in gold, and proved, as I have said, that the surmise expressed on p. 601 of vol. ii of



TINY PORTRAIT OF PRINCE CHARLES IN GOLD.  
(IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.)

(*Medallic Illustrations*, vol. ii, p. 601, No. 253.)

*Medallic Illustrations* is correct. The natural inference followed that the piece was struck about the time of the Prince's arrival in Scotland, and this may well be, for he seems to have been in the habit of presenting such portrait-rings. One of these rings, bearing the bust of his father in his youth,<sup>1</sup> was given by Charles to Clementina Wilkinshaw, with whom he first became acquainted in January, 1746, when she promised to follow him wheresoever he pleased. She did not actually reside with him until some years later, and the date has been variously given as '49, '50 or '52. Let us see what

<sup>1</sup> *Medallic Illustrations*, vol. ii, p. 195, No. 506. This portrait, mounted as a ring, No. 115 at the Highland Exhibition, was lent by the Inverness Museum; a similar ring, No. 131, was lent by Miss Campbell of Balliveolan as having been the property of Charles himself.

Mr. Andrew Lang has to tell us about Prince Charles's little medallion. He gives us the letter of an official spy concerning gifts sent from Paris to London, as follows:<sup>1</sup> "An Irish Priest," writes this spy under date October 5, 1750, "who belonged to the parish church of S. Eustache at Paris, has left his living reckoned worth 80*l.* a year, and is very lately gone to London to be Chaplain to the Sardinian Minister; he has carried with him a quantity of coloured Glass Seals with the Pretender's son's effigy, as also small heads made of silver gilt about this bigness [example] to be set in rings, as also points for watch cases, with the same head, and this motto round 'Look Love and Follow.'" To these watch-cases I have already referred, but it is matter of regret that Mr. Lang, in transcribing the manuscript, gives neither reference nor any measurement of the "example," so that the clue is lost; but he remarks earlier, in quoting from another manuscript and speaking of the glass seals: "Oddly enough we find Waters sealing with this very intaglio of the Prince a letter to Edgar in 1750. It is a capital likeness."<sup>2</sup> From this we should judge that the glass seals and the silver-gilt "small heads" bore the same portrait in intaglio and in relief respectively. The seals were, it appears, made at "3 livres apiece" by "one Tate, who got the engraving made on metal, from which the Artist takes the impression in his composition in imitation of fine Stones of all colours . . . The Artist has actually done four dozen of seals, which are disposed of, having but half a dozen left. He expects daily an order for the said quantity more. As there are no Letters or Inscription about it, the artist may always pretend it is only a fancy head, though in reality it is very like the Pretender's son."<sup>3</sup> Tate was a jeweller originally settled in Edinburgh, but he joined the Rebellion and is believed to have held a Captain's commission in the service of Prince Charles. Having after Culloden

<sup>1</sup> *Pickle the Spy*, pp. 109-10.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 108. Waters was Prince Charles's banker in Paris; Edgar was King James's secretary in Rome.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 107-8. Mr. Lang gives reference to "a Private memorandum concerning the Pretender's son," under date August 31, 1750.

escaped to Paris, Tate, according to the letter above quoted, carried on his jeweller's business there and was employed by the Prince's followers "to get 1,500 seals done." If so large a number were ever made it seems strange that so few, if any, survive. Some Jacobite family relics, the property of Miss Grant, great-great-granddaughter of Macpherson of Cluny and granddaughter of John Grant, were sold together as Lot 13 at Messrs. Sothebys on February 19, 1926, and amongst these was a ring bearing an intaglio head of Prince Charles, cut apparently in a pale topaz, but possibly of some clear paste. The head it bears is hardly sufficiently like the prince to answer to the above description, and should be dated, I should think, rather later than 1750—perhaps 1760, judging by the portraiture. It shows him in a wig with curls at the side somewhat in the style of his marriage medal, and again, a nearly similar portrait is on a brass seal in the Inverness Museum.

The only other seal-matrix I have ever seen representing Charles, and this is indubitably of coloured glass, does not bear the same head as the medallion, but is a poor intaglio in a Highland bonnet. The portrait on Mr. John Stuart's ring is in high relief and quite well suited in size and depth for a seal. I have, indeed, in constant use, a modern matrix presented to me by the late Mr. Berney Ficklin, who had several made from an example of the gold medallion. We see that Tate "got the engraving made on metal," and it appears that he was the maker of the Seals rather than the designer. Was, then, the puncheon from which Tate worked made by the artist who designed the *Amor et Spes* medal, or, if not, as I think by him, then by his cousin James, later known as Jacques Roettiers de la Tour?<sup>1</sup> I suggest the possibility of the latter only because the little head itself is based on a yet earlier medal, the portrait of a boy, almost a

<sup>1</sup> James Roettiers, the son of Norbert, born 1707, and made engraver to the Court of James Francis Edward at Paris on the death of Norbert in 1727. He came to London with some of his grandfather's dies in January, 1733, and worked for a short time at the English Mint, but returned to France the same year, and shortly afterwards married the daughter of Besnier the King's goldsmith, to whose office he succeeded in 1737.

child, with curling hair, of which we have a wax impression bearing the date 1735, a date almost too early for Charles Norbert Roettiers, who, like Prince Charles himself, was born in 1720. The wax impressions, for there are two, being obverse and reverse, were exhibited by Miss Juliet Macdonald at the West Highland Museum, and hearing that I was working on this subject she generously presented them to me.<sup>1</sup> Miss Macdonald was given these two interesting impressions by a distinguished antiquary many years ago, but does not know where the originals may now be. Unless a swivel seal, it seems to me more likely that we have before us impressions taken from dies for a medal of the Prince engraved in his fifteenth year.



PRINCE CHARLES IN 1735.

(WAX IMPRESSIONS PRESENTED BY MISS JULIET MACDONALD TO THE AUTHOR.)

We must, I think, regard this projected medal as the prototype of the series, for the obverse bears a younger rendering of the tiny bust to right, almost, although not quite, equal in merit to its successor engraved at least ten years later. The date is determined by the inscription "ASPICE AMA \* SEQUERE 1735," practically the Latin for the "Look Love and Follow" of Mr. Baldwin's uniface proof for a watch case in 1750. The reverse carries a somewhat ungraceful figure of Britannia (?) with the words "AMOR · ET · SPES · BRIT." It bears neither signature nor rebus to connect it definitely with any of the Roettiers,<sup>2</sup> and, as regards the younger of the two Parisian artists, the fact that he was only fifteen would rule him out altogether were it not that there is a certain indecision in the work, especially

<sup>1</sup> No. 196 at the Exhibition of *Prince Charles Edward and the '45 Campaign* catalogued as "Impressions of medals or seals struck for Prince Charles."

<sup>2</sup> Besides the two Roettiers called Joseph Charles and James, George, the uncle of Charles Norbert, was until 1748 working at Paris as a medallist.

as regards the ill-modelled female figure on the reverse which suggests the prentice hand of the beginner. We must, however, bear in mind that in 1735 Prince Charles was in Rome, where Hamerani was the official medallist, and the titular King James employed a Neapolitan, Carlo Costanzi, to "cut his head in intaglio" for rings.<sup>1</sup> In 1750 James sent Charles two of these in emerald and "a fine granata," a stone like a ruby, by this artist.<sup>2</sup> All things considered, however, it seems more probable that the little medal is the work of James Roettiers, whose reverses, like those of Pingo, were not equal to his portraiture, and who had lately returned to France after a visit to England, where he had been offered permanent employment in our Mint in 1733. Prince Charles, in 1735, had come back to Rome after taking part in the glory of the triumphal entry of Don Carlos into Naples in August, 1734. But it was not until 1737 that active efforts were made to stir up loyalty in the Highlands by Murray of Broughton, and in 1738 by Glenbuckett and Sempill; in 1739, 1740, and 1741 by Balhaldie, and again by Murray in 1742 and 1743.<sup>3</sup> In these early days, just as once more after the failure of the '45, these agents carried small presents; indeed, of Balhaldie it is later told that he actually himself carved some small snuff-boxes in tortoiseshell for presentation, one being "a most curious toy . . . containing in a secret receptacle a portrait of King James VIII."<sup>4</sup>

In an old Scottish house, the home of the Earl of Airlie, Cortachy Castle, I have seen a print of Charles engraved by Nicolas Edelinck after David, in 1735, with the addition of a Scottish bonnet, a print which, according to the family tradition, preserved by the Ogilvys with it, is one of the rare examples which were "sent out before

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Forrer, in his *Dictionary of Medallists*, notes three varieties by this artist of intaglio portraits of James.

<sup>2</sup> *Pickle the Spy*, p. 100, under date August 5, 1750; letter from Edgar to Prince Charles.

<sup>3</sup> *The Origins of the Forty-Five*. Introduction, pp. xxviii-xl, edited by Walker Biggar Blaikie, LL.D., published in 1916 by the Scottish Historical Society, 2nd series, vol. ii.

<sup>4</sup> Balhaldie, Chief of the Macgregors, was living in Paris in 1753 when he sent these gifts to Scotland. See *Pickle the Spy*, p. 239.



the '45 to those who had suffered in the '15, to revive interest and show what the young Prince was like." This "second state," with the Scottish bonnet added to French court-dress, is somewhat startling, and some have objected that it was not until Charles took up his residence in Edinburgh that he wore the Highland garb.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless, we find Charles exciting great interest by appearing in Scottish costume, unknown in Italy, at a ball given on February 18, 1741, at the Palazzo Pamphili in Rome. Here, as Alexander Ewald tells us in his *Life and Times of Prince Charles*, he "swaggered about the rooms and chatted in terms of enthusiasm about Scotland and its people" and provoked admiration "in the bright tartan of his house."<sup>2</sup> Prince Henry two years later followed his brother's example, ordering a set of Highland clothes to wear at the Carnival in France on February 27, 1743.<sup>3</sup> In fact, the exiled Stuarts left no stone unturned to awaken sympathy in their cause both abroad and in Scotland. We notice that the failure of the expedition had in no way chilled the loyalty of the Roettiers family, and James, the goldsmith, who immediately before the departure of the Prince for Scotland had delivered some plate to the value of 8,898 livres,<sup>4</sup> was again commissioned to execute an order which was to bring in "an hundred thousand crowns" in 1748.<sup>5</sup> Almost immediately afterwards the goldsmith received a command from Louis XV for some work, which would have interfered with the punctual delivery

<sup>1</sup> Highland dress was defined by Lord Lewis Gordon when calling for recruits in 1746 as "well cloathed in short cloaths Plaid, new Shoes and three pair of hose." See *Origins of the Forty-Five*, pp. 135 and 287. But the dress worn by Charles in Edinburgh did not include the Philibeg, *i.e.* the plaid girt in such a manner as to form a sort of kilt, the dress of the people, but a coat of tartan with velvet breeches and boots, a plaid and a bonnet with the Orders of St. Andrew and of the Garter. See Chambers's *History of the Rebellion*, seventh edition, p. 144.

<sup>2</sup> Ewald's *Life of Charles Stuart*, p. 50.

<sup>3</sup> *Companions of Pickle*, by Andrew Lang, p. 32.

<sup>4</sup> Browne's *History of the Highlands*, vol. iv, p. 35: "Furnished ye 28 May," and paid September 6 by Waters the Paris banker.

<sup>5</sup> *Ascanius the Young Adventurer*, edition of 1819, p. 135; and *Charles Edward*, by Andrew Lang, p. 229.



of the required gold plate to Prince Charles, but on the artist's consulting the French King, the latter desired that the preference should be given to his guest, and that the expense should be charged to the Royal host's treasury.<sup>1</sup> I mention this incident because it seems possible that James Roettiers may also have been employed as medallist by Prince Charles.

Let us turn, then, to a medal made in September, 1752, according to a date on the exergue. Larger in diameter than its prototype



"REDEAT MAGNUS ILLE GENIUS BRITANNIÆ."

(*Medallic Illustrations*, vol. ii, p. 670, No. 380.)

the *Amor et Spes* medal, it is slightly more mechanical and poorer in style. Giving my opinion for what it is worth, and following the abler judgment of Mr. Hawkins, I regard it as a painstaking copy made at a time when the enlargement machines of the present day were not available. It has a weak representation of the sign-manual, the little piece of rock with seaweed, noticed on the *Amor et Spes* and *Oak* medals. It suggests the hypothesis that Charles, anxious to have a new presentation for his adherents and no longer in touch with Charles Norbert Roettiers, turned to commemorate his secret visit to a less able member of that family, or to Pingo, or another who was as careful as Charles Norbert had been not to incriminate himself by signing his name. But if we attribute this

<sup>1</sup> Lockhart, vol. ii, p. 574; and *A Short and True Narrative of the Rebellion*, p. 147.

medal to a mere copyist, we must assume that he faintly reproduced the rock merely as part of the design set before him.

There is a curiously inartistic medal for which some member of the Roettiers family should bear the blame, for we find the rock rebus, although a variant in that it has no seaweed. The Prince wears an impossible Highland dress such as could only have been designed by a foreigner. The rock rebus is not unlike that on the "REDEAT MAGNUS ILLE GENIUS BRITANNIÆ" medal, and may also be compared with that on James Roettiers's "Isaac Newton" (*Medallic Illustrations*, vol. ii, p. 471, No. 86).



"SUUM CUIQUE" MEDAL.

(*Medallic Illustrations*, vol. ii, p. 601, No. 254.)

The Prince's costume is not less absurd in the *Semper Armis Nunc et Industria* medal attributed to Thomas Pingo, but we must remember that this artist was himself a foreigner, having been born in Italy and only coming to England some time between 1742 and 1745, and might have been known to the Prince whilst yet living abroad.<sup>1</sup> It is, however, useless to conjecture whether Charles introduced Pingo to "The Oak Society" or *vice versa*, but we know that the artist became assistant engraver to the English Mint in 1771

<sup>1</sup> Thomas Pingo was of Italian origin and was born about 1692. He died in London in 1776. He remained at the Royal Mint from 1771 until his death, when he was succeeded by his son Lewis, who eventually became chief graver in 1779. Thomas married Mary, the daughter of Benjamin Goldwire of Romsey. His usual signature was "T. PINGO f.," "T.P.F.," or simply "PINGO."

and the dies for various pattern guineas and half-guineas of George III are from his puncheons.<sup>1</sup> Seeing his official position, it appears unlikely that he had anything to do with the rather unpleasing portrait of Charles in later life, struck on his marriage in 1772, a medal of which the designer remains unidentified.



MARRIAGE OF CHARLES WITH LOUISE OF STOLBERG.

(Cochran-Patrick, Pl. XIV, 8.)

But Thomas Pingo might be, perhaps, held responsible for another medal which, being without portraiture, is really outside our discussion, but bears, like the *Medal of the Oak*, upon the Prince's meteoric visits to England; the heraldic device on the obverse, a trophy of



JACOBITE MEETING OF 1750.

(*Medallic Illustrations*, vol. ii, p. 656, No. 361.)

arms with the Cross of St. Andrew, and the thistle on the reverse, are both technically satisfactory. The lettering states that these medals

<sup>1</sup> See Mr. Wroth's article in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, Mr. Forrer's in his *Dictionary of Medallists*, and Mr. Hocking's in the *Catalogue of the Mint Museum*, vol. ii, p. 26.

were presented by desire of James to those who met at a secret conference with his son Prince Charles in 1750. It is therefore likely that these medals were sent from Rome, but on this point we have no evidence. Would it be cruel to associate the name of so painstaking a medallist as Pingo with the "Highlander" medal redeemed from absurdity by the well-modelled white rose on its reverse?



"HIGHLANDER" MEDAL.

(*Medallic Illustrations*, vol. ii, p. 655, No. 358.)

A very spirited silver-gilt medal, hitherto unpublished, in my collection, probably belongs to this period. The motto, "I WILL AND DARE," suggests the dash made by the young Prince to recapture



SILVER-GILT MEDAL OF PRINCE CHARLES.

(UNPUBLISHED.)

the throne, and the workmanship and shape of the crown on the reverse belong rather to the later than to the earlier years of the eighteenth century, so that we assume the expedition in question

to be that of Charles and not that of James. Another little bronze portrait of the Prince in Highland dress, uniface and perhaps better described as a medallion than as a medal, is a rare unpublished and anonymous piece, which I am permitted to reproduce from the National Collection. A specimen in brass is in the cabinet of



BRONZE PLAQUE REPRESENTING PRINCE CHARLES.  
(IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.)

Mr. C. W. Tomkins. In minute lettering and rather faulty Latin, the spectator is prayed to engrave the Prince in his heart, just as he beholds his effigy engraved in bronze.



SILVER MEDALLION OF PRINCE CHARLES.  
(IN THE AUTHOR'S COLLECTION.)

Portraits of Charles Edward dressed in Highland costume, and wearing the Order of St. Andrew, were at this time very popular ;

and it should not be necessary to remind our readers of another medal showing the Prince in the National Scottish garb and Highlander's bonnet, for Mr. Francis, in his interesting paper on Jacobite glasses in the *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. xvi, Figs. 21 and 21A, and the engraved glass, Fig. 23, traced an analogy between the medallion and the goblets.<sup>1</sup>

The portrait known in silver, in gold and in coloured enamel, is taken from an unsigned print tentatively ascribed, in Mr. O'Donoghue's *Catalogue of Engraved British Portraits*,<sup>2</sup> to Sir Robert Strange, an attribution which must have been current so early as 1867, for we find it thus ascribed in the seventh edition of Chambers's *History of the Rebellion*, published at that date.

But the great-grandsons of the artist do not agree with the attribution. They consider that Strange, whose splendid engravings in other years are well known, never performed so poor a piece of work. He was not only a remarkable engraver but a fine draughtsman, and the family have no evidence of such a plate, neither is it mentioned by Charles Le Blanc or James Dennistoun in their list of the artist's works. But by whomsoever executed, the print is of considerable historical interest, and as such I reproduce it from the plate in Mr. Francis's article, Fig. 22.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Grant Francis, F.S.A., has, in 1926, amplified his paper into a magnificently illustrated work entitled *Old English Drinking Glasses*. For the Highlander portrait see Pl. LXVIII of the latter work.

<sup>2</sup> *Engraved British Portraits*, vol. i, p. 407, No. 25, Mr. O'Donoghue puts the name of R. Strange in brackets, as a sign that the attribution is doubtful. This method is applied to both prints of Prince Charles ascribed to this artist; but as regards No. 24, a fine engraving, we have evidence of authenticity in that the great-grandson of Strange possesses the original copper plate. No. 26 is a copy of No. 25, the Highlander Print, and is signed "T. Scott," but it is by a different and inferior hand to the other. A version of Scott's print, but without the surrounding emblems, appeared in a small octavo issue of *Ascanius the Young Adventurer*, entitled *An Impartial History*, printed for James Scot in 1815. A reversed and rather smaller copy appeared, signed "Jameson Sculp, 1779," in an earlier volume, this time called a *Short History of the Rebellion*, printed in Edinburgh in 1779. This signed version is the earliest dated copy so far known to me. See p. 212.

In the Print Room of the British Museum there is a coloured example of this Highlander print which, according to strong tradition, was presented to Mr. Stewart of Innerhadden by Charles himself in 1745 in recognition of services rendered. It appears to be either a



PRINCE CHARLES AS A HIGHLANDER.

poor impression reworked from the same plate as the plain print or possibly a copy by another engraver. It is coloured by hand and closely resembles many of the miniatures given by Charles to his adherents. But whether some of these miniatures followed the print,



or *vice versa*, it is difficult to pronounce. We may, however, be certain that the extremely beautiful miniature at Achnacarry given to Lochiel<sup>1</sup> himself, together with his sleeve-links, as a keepsake by Prince Charles, is absolutely contemporary, and we can only regret that it is not signed. One is tempted to wonder whether it may not be the original by Sir Robert Strange from which all the copies may have sprung. If the Innerhadden tradition be correct the print must be of 1745; but such traditions must be received with caution, especially with regard to the "tired state" of the impression. In a mid-nineteenth-century handwriting below the print runs the following inscription:—

"This portrait of Prince Charles Edward Stuart was brought by himself from France in 1745 and handed by the Prince to Mr. Stewart of Innerhadden. When Innerhadden was set on fire by Cumberland after the Battle of Culloden this portrait was saved from the flames, it was afterwards saved from burning in Edinburgh 1856."

The words "brought from France" are of interest, as discountenancing any early attribution to Robert Strange; but considering that the print is stated to have been twice in danger of burning, it seems possible that the marks of fire are due to the later conflagration, and the gift, like so many others, was sent over after the Prince's return, rather than brought by himself on his arrival, without luggage, in the *Doutelle*.

On his entry into Edinburgh in September, 1745, there was, as we have seen, a young artist named Robert Strange, shortly to become the brother-in-law of Andrew Lumisden,<sup>2</sup> Prince Charles's secretary. The story is well known, and appears in the artist's own diary of the bank-notes hastily engraved, when the loss of the *Hazard* sloop,<sup>3</sup> with a large sum of money coming from France on

<sup>1</sup> Lochiel died in France in 1748; it is therefore obvious that the miniature must have been painted before that date.

<sup>2</sup> Dennistoun's *Memoirs of Strange and Lumisden*, vol. i, pp. 51-5.

<sup>3</sup> *The Affairs of Scotland*, p. 410.



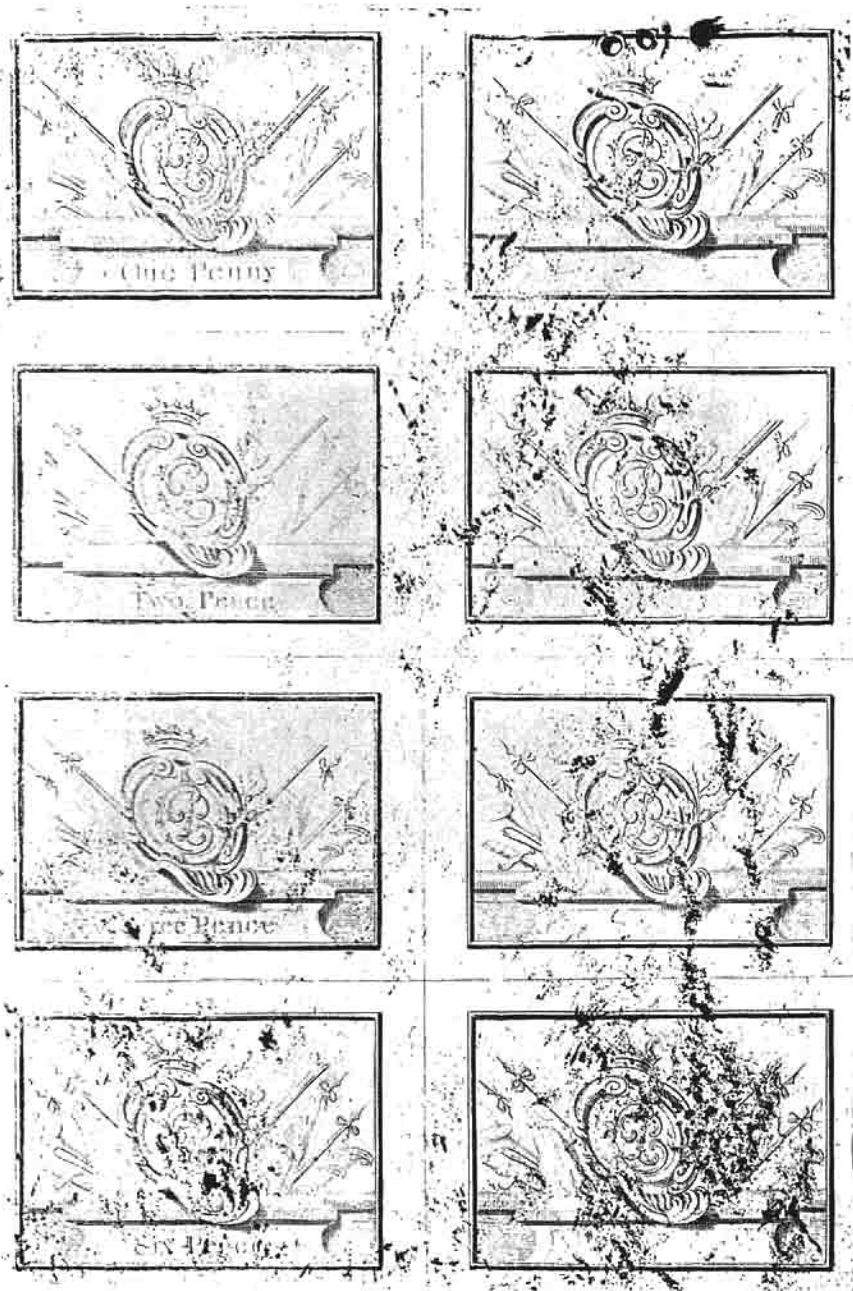


PLATE OF CURRENCY NOTES ENGRAVED BY ROBERT STRANGE. REDUCED  
TO THREE-FOURTHS OF THE ORIGINAL SIZE.

(IN COLONEL A. C. MACPHERSON OF CLUNY'S COLLECTION.)

March 25, 1746, caused a sudden call for currency. Strange tells the story of the hurried preparation of the plate, of his ignorance of the proper ingredients used in etching, so that, to quote his own expression, he found the aqua fortis "playing the devil with it,"<sup>1</sup> a fact which is evident in one of the surviving copper plates which, by the kindness of Colonel A. C. Macpherson of Cluny, I am able to illustrate on the facing plate.<sup>2</sup>

Strange was commissioned to engrave plates for notes of one and two hundred pounds, respectively, and lesser sums. It is only



COPPER PLATE FOR A NOTE FOR ONE PENNY. ACTUAL SIZE.

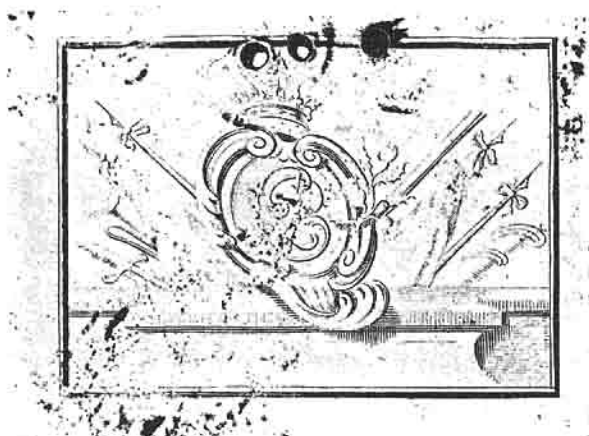
(BY KIND PERMISSION OF COLONEL MACPHERSON OF CLUNY.)

the latter which have survived, and it shows that, even in the hurry of the campaign and without proper tools, Strange was already in his youth the able artist he afterwards proved himself to be.

<sup>1</sup> *Memoirs of Strange*, p. 54. The copper plate was found near the west end of Loch Laggan, where no doubt it had been thrown aside after the flight from Culloden in April, 1746. It was presented in 1835 to Macpherson of Cluny, and was exhibited in 1865 and illustrated in vol. vi of the *Proceedings* of the Society of Scottish Antiquaries, pp. 47 and 85, and Pl. V. It now belongs to his descendant, the present head of the House of Cluny.

<sup>2</sup> The plate has been reproduced three-fourths of the original size, but the individual notes in the letterpress are in facsimile.

We need hardly call the attention of our readers, seeing that it is illustrated by Mr. Francis in his article on the Jacobite glasses, to the attractive, if rather over-elaborated, line engraving portraying Charles surrounded with emblems, according to the fashion of the time. It was produced by royal command during the Prince's first visit to Edinburgh, where the young artist was in residence in Stewart's Close studying drawing.<sup>1</sup> It is said that "visitors of distinction" watched the progress with the interest of partisans.<sup>2</sup> In spite of its somewhat puzzling epigraph, "A Paris, chez



COPPER PLATE WITH SPACE LEFT TO BE FILLED IN WITH ANY SUM OF MONEY  
AS REQUIRED. ACTUAL SIZE.

(BY KIND PERMISSION OF COLONEL MACPHERSON OF CLUNY.)

Chereau Rue St. Jaques, C.P.R.," there seems to be no doubt, either on the part of Dennistoun or on that of Chambers, that this is the particular portrait, and not the "Highlander" print,

<sup>1</sup> *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. xvi, Fig. II, facing p. 261. It seems likely that Prince Charles sat for this picture, but Strange may have been assisted in his portraiture by some drawing or miniature after the painting of the Prince done by Domenico Duprà in 1744 in Rome.

<sup>2</sup> Dennistoun, vol. i, p. 48, and vol. ii, p. 281, No. 7, and Robert Chambers's *Dictionary of Scottish Biography*, vol. iv, p. 211.

which Strange engraved in 1745. I owe many grateful thanks to Major Charles Ffoulkes, the great-grandson of Robert Strange, for kindly allowing me to examine the original copper plate in his possession, thereby to obtain a better knowledge of the artist's craftsmanship in engraved line than can be gleaned from the prints. With reference to the epigraph, Major Ffoulkes suggests that the engravings were printed in France, and the address given of the place of issue; James Dennistoun, the biographer of Strange, regarded it as possibly "a blind adopted on publication," or, perhaps, an addition to the plate "subsequently made in France for a re-issue," but no copy without the epigraph has been seen. It is, however, possible that the print was not finished in Edinburgh before the active duties of the campaign caused Strange, serving in the Prince's Life Guards, to leave the city. Bishop Forbes speaks of some prints as "all sold out" in November, 1748, but it is not clear to what prints he refers. We find him writing to Dr. Burton in York, who had asked him, under date September 17 in that year, "whether the picture of the Prince which was drawn by a young man in Edinburgh and was very like be yet done on a copper plate?" "If it is finished and like the original, send me some with the charge."<sup>1</sup> Burton's allusion to a picture "drawn by a young man" is suggestive that the writer had seen only a sketch or a miniature by Strange, who also worked in crayon, and as we have seen, was especially skilled as a miniaturist and painter in water-colours. Forbes answers: "The copper plates you mention were all sold off long before you wrote me, one cannot be had at any price."

If, as I have ventured to suggest, the "Highlander" print be a copy by another hand of a miniature by Strange, who, be it noted, was not long in Edinburgh in 1748, leaving this city for Rouen in the September of that year, the mystery of the pirated reproductions and the tradition which gives the original to Strange may be partly explained.

<sup>1</sup> *The Lyon in Mourning*, vol. ii, p. 320.

Again, in 1789, Lady Strange<sup>1</sup> refers in a letter to her husband to a small head by him "from our best and largest miniature," which she wished to sell for a book illustration. By the great kindness of Major Charles Ffoulkes, who had the original specially photographed for me, I am able to reproduce one of two "small circular" engravings mentioned by Dennistoun<sup>2</sup> in his list of those in the family collection. It cannot be that to which Monsieur Le Blanc refers in his "*L'Œuvre de Robert Strange, Graveur*," No. 51, because he mentions the shape as oval. It may,



UNIQUE PRINT OF PRINCE CHARLES.

(IN THE COLLECTION OF MAJOR CHARLES FFOULKES.)

however, possibly be the small head concerning which Lady Strange writes in 1789. Mr. A. P. Trotter, however, another great-grandson of the artist, and the possessor of the miniatures of the Stuarts in the Strange collection, kindly tells me that the "best and largest miniature" probably refers to a young portrait of the Prince sent to Strange by his brother-in-law, Andrew Lumisden, the secretary of Charles, whose gift from the Prince it was, and that it was twice copied by Strange, but that the head is turned to the

<sup>1</sup> Dennistoun's *Memoirs of Strange*, vol. i, pp. 235, 270: "à propos, where is the plate you had engraved of my Prince several years ago, which never was published. It is but small, such an one is now wanted for a book. I believe I would get ten guineas for it which is better than nothing."

<sup>2</sup> *Memoirs of Sir Robert Strange*, vol. ii, p. 284, Appendix I, Nos. 9 and 10.





PRINCE CHARLES EDWARD. BY ROBERT STRANGE.

(BRITISH MUSEUM COLLECTION.)



right and not to the left, besides other differences. In fact, this miniature is like that of the Duke of York, in the double-portrait in the Windsor, the Buccleuch, the late Carmichael and the West Highland Museum's collections; and we notice that Dennistoun says Strange intended to reproduce Prince Henry's miniature also, making a pair with the Charles, saying "the portraits of the two brothers might sell together," a project he does not appear to have executed.<sup>1</sup> Some confusion has arisen between the portraits of the two brothers, according to the family tradition of the descendants of Strange, who believe the pictures of the two brothers were transposed. Be this as it may, the print is like that in the double-portrait usually received as representing Charles, and is adorned with the Prince of Wales's feathers. This unique print would fit Lady Strange's description, in that she wrote in 1789 that the "plate" representing Charles had not then been published. Mr. Dennistoun possessed an impression of an engraving done by Strange in 1746 whilst in hiding after Culloden. He speaks of it as "a very rude etching of the Prince . . . hastily produced by Strange with wretched tools . . . and sold for half a crown," and from his description we see that it was a rough copy of his original fine head.<sup>2</sup> Unless Strange later re-engraved the same subject for a third time, perfecting the small head, we cannot find in the print illustrated above any affinity with Dennistoun's "hastily produced rude etching," for no one could fail to appreciate the careful execution and graceful design of the line-engraving kindly lent me by Major Ffoulkes. We have noticed that Monsieur Le Blanc,<sup>3</sup> in his catalogue of engravings by Strange, refers to a small oval of Prince Charles, and such a one is to be found in the editions of 1804 and 1812 of *Ascanius the Young Adventurer*, a poor version on a small scale of the original large portrait by Strange, without the optimistic motto and emblems. Can this be pirated from the hurried plate prepared in secret and sold at half a crown?

<sup>1</sup> *Memoirs of Sir Robert Strange*, vol. i, pp. 49, 50. Mr. Trotter exhibited miniatures of both Charles and Henry at the Stuart exhibition of 1889.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 271, and vol. ii, p. 281 (in 8vo).

<sup>3</sup> *L'Œuvre de Robert Strange, Graveur*, par Charles le Blanc, published in 1848.

There are so many versions and editions of *Ascanius* that I have not been able to see them all, but I hear from Mr. C. W. Tomkins that he has a copy of 1815 entitled *An Impartial History of the Rebellion*, in which the oval three-quarter figure of the Highlander forms the frontispiece. But as this edition was printed at Paisley by Neilson for James Scott, we may, I think, assume that this is the origin of T. Scott's reproduction of an already extant portrait, for T. Scott signed the version with the thistle and other emblems (O'Donoghue, No. 26), and with this the tracing sent me by Mr. Tomkins appears to agree.<sup>1</sup> An earlier version of *Ascanius*, issued under yet another title, contains the "Highlander" print. It is seen in a small book in the West Highland Museum at Fort William, issued at Edinburgh in 1779, and entitled *A Short and True Narrative of the Rebellion in 1745*. The print, a reversal of other examples, is signed by one Jameson. The edition in the British Museum bears the date 1779 on both print and title-page distinctly, whereas that in the Highland Museum is somewhat rubbed and at first sight appeared to be '75. This issue of 1779 is the earliest dated copy I have found of this engraving, and being reversed I would hazard a guess that it was copied from an earlier miniature. As regards *Ascanius*, it appeared and reappeared under fresh names. In the first issue, that of 1746, and also, if a frontispiece be present, in those immediately following it, there is a full-length picture of a Highlander, a very poor affair, but no doubt intended for Prince Charles. It is true that Le Blanc refers his "très petit ovale" to the "première édition" of Smollett's *Compleat History*, 1757; but the first edition of this work contains no portraits, and the second and third, so far as one can ascertain, none of Prince Charles, although small heads of Mary Queen of Scots, Charles I, and others equally noted by Le Blanc from the *Catalogue Basan* as by Strange, and in Smollett's *Compleat History*, are found in the second and third edition of 1759 and 1760 respectively, and Lumisden in 1758 speaks of a small series of engravings undertaken for an edition of

<sup>1</sup> See note 2, p. 204, above.

Smollett.<sup>1</sup> The earliest print of Charles Edward that I have found in the *Compleat History* is in the edition of 1806. It is in armour similar to the Johann Georg Wille's engraving after the picture by Louis Toqué of the year 1748 and is signed by J. Heath. The same picture was also engraved by Wilson and published in 1827 in *Constable's Miscellany*, vol. xv, as a frontispiece to Chambers's *History of the Rebellion*. The fine version by Wille is illustrated by Mr. Francis from his own collection in the *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. xvi, Fig. 34.<sup>2</sup>

My efforts to see the eleventh volume of the second edition, in which, if in any, the portrait of the Prince should be, have been in vain. Both the British Museum and the Bodleian have the later volumes made up from the third edition, and the same may be said of private libraries to which I have been kindly permitted access. Mr. Dennistoun also wrote that he could not trace the engraving.

My readers will, I hope, pardon me for so long detaining them over the question of line-engravings rather than the medallic portraits, inasmuch as I have wished to dispel the illusion that Strange might be connected with the "Highlander" medals. We must bear particularly in mind that Sir Robert, although he frequently copied Roman and other medals, and, as we have seen, made an enlarged line-engraving of the *Amor et Spes* medal, was no medallist, and, therefore, whether to him be rightly attributed the origin of the "Highlander" print or not, he is in no way to be held responsible for the medallions, unless they be regarded as based upon a miniature by him, such as that at Achnacarry,<sup>3</sup> which may, indeed, be the fine prototype by our artist of the poor copies and engravings which so long have been, as I venture to think mistakenly, ascribed

<sup>1</sup> Dennistoun, vol. i, p. 270.

<sup>2</sup> The date of Toqué's picture is given in Browne's *History of the Highlands* as 1748, when 1,000 francs was paid for it. See vol. iii, p. 386.

<sup>3</sup> A fine copy of the miniature, engraved by W. Holt, appeared as frontispiece in 1875 and 1879 in vol. i of the late Sir John Scott-Keltie's *History of the Highlands*, by permission of Cameron of Lochiel.

to Strange. The fine draughtmanship of the miniature places it on a different plane from the weakly-drawn prints.

I illustrate my enamelled pendant, but regret that the reverse, being injured, cannot be reproduced. We must remember that there were several jewellers besides Tate in Prince Charles's army. Archibald Kennedy, Silversmith, of Carlisle, was tried and condemned at York; and Patrick Murray, Goldsmith,<sup>1</sup> of Stirling, was executed at Carlisle in 1746; whilst Tate, as we have seen, escaped to France. To one of these it seems more reasonable to attribute



ENAMEL LOCKET, WITH ROSE, SHAMROCK AND THISTLE ON REVERSE.

the enamel, if we be justified in placing it at so early a date. The portrait as a uniface medallion is rare. I have seen but three examples in silver and one in gold, and the curious hollow locket as figured above. One of the three silver specimens was let into the top of a circular box in Mr. Berney Ficklin's collection.

<sup>1</sup> George Mounsey's *Authentic Account of the Occupation of Carlisle*, pp. 248, 268, and *Lyon in Mourning*, vol. iii, pp. 38, 39. Also Alexander Ewald's *Prince Charles Stuart*, p. 436 and p. 439. I owe to the Rev. J. G. Knowles several interesting references to Patrick Murray and others in the '45.

By the courteous permission officially accorded to me at the National Portrait Gallery of Scotland, I have been able to bring before you the presentment of the Prince said on all hands to be that which best portrayed him. This bust, by Jean Baptiste Lemoyne, exactly life-sized, is in greenish-bronzed plaster, and is from its sharpness probably the first cast taken from the sculptor's original clay model. Incised on the plinth are the words "Charles Edward Stuart par



LEMOYNE'S BUST OF PRINCE CHARLES.

(IN THE SCOTTISH NATIONAL PORTRAIT GALLERY, EDINBURGH.)

J. B. Lemoyne 1744," or, according to the reading of some authorities, "1746," for a mark across the last figure has rendered it difficult to be certain. But giving my opinion for what it is worth, I think it points to an earlier execution of the original clay than is usually supposed.<sup>1</sup> It is not known whether the bust was ever

<sup>1</sup> Charles was in Paris at both dates, having left Rome for that city on January 11, 1744, arriving eleven days later and remaining there off and on until he started for Scotland on July 13, 1745. After the failure of the expedition he returned to France in 1746. See Ewald's *Life of Prince Charles Edward Stuart*, pp. 51-60.



contemporaneously rendered in metal, but of the ultimate marble, although its whereabouts is not now known, there is more than one mention which approximately determines the date. Andrew Lang, quoting from letters of February, 1750, writes: "A good deal is said about a marble bust of the Prince at which Lemoine is working"<sup>1</sup>; and also Mr. W. G. Blaikie Murdoch, in a recent article, quotes Charles writing from St. Ouen, on October 27, 1747, who speaks of the "busts in marble"—mark the plural—as likely to "be soon ready," and "much admired for its being singularly like."<sup>2</sup> In a letter of May 12, 1752, the Prince wrote to his Paris banker, Waters, cautioning him "to be careful of his portrait by La Tour and of his marble bousto by Lemoyne."<sup>3</sup> Entries in Waters' accounts for the year 1749 show that La Tour, who worked in pastels, was paid, on January 13, 1,200 livres, whilst only 400 were disbursed to Lemoyne in March, 1748, a sum equalling about £17 10s. of our money, which could not possibly have covered the price of the marble bust.<sup>4</sup> But no word is said of money "on account," or "to complete the payment," and it is more natural to assume that this sum was for making casts. In 1802 James Fittler engraved a plate after a drawing by Robert Smirke, R.A., of a very similar but, if the drawing be correct, not identical, bust. The lettering beneath the engraving tells us that the bust was "in the possession of Robert Chalmers, and was made by Lemoine in 1749."

We know that plaster heads of Prince Charles were sold in September, 1750, in Red Lion Street, and Dr. King, in his *Anecdotes*, remarks that "they were more like him than any of his pictures," and his servant recognised Charles from this fact. King believed that "these busts were taken in plaster of Paris from his face."<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Pickle the Spy*, p. 92.

<sup>2</sup> *Scots Magazine*, March, 1925, vol. 2, No. 12, p. 418, "The Lemoyne Bust of Prince Charles."

<sup>3</sup> *Pickle the Spy*, p. 136.

<sup>4</sup> Appendix to vol. iv of Browne's *History of the Highlands*, p. 55, Waters' Accounts, No. clxxiv.

<sup>5</sup> Dr. William King's *Anecdotes of His Own Times*, edition of 1819, pp. 196 and 199.

Mr. Lang suggests that these busts were "done from a life mask, if not from Le Moines' bust in marble (1750)."<sup>1</sup> The bust portrayed by James Fittler (1758-1835) after Robert Smirke (1752-1845) is a variant, not a replica, of the plaster cast at Edinburgh, the hair more tightly curled, the plinth of another shape, and shows other minor differences; these differences may be due to want of skill in Fittler or Smirke. It seems probable that the bust drawn by Smirke was one, however, of those sold in Red Lion Street, and we have no evidence that the apparently much finer example in Edinburgh was ever in the collection of Dr. Chalmers. By the courtesy of Mr. James Caw, late Director of the Scottish National Portrait Gallery, I learn that the bust there exhibited was in the possession of Thomas Duncan, R.S.A., when he, in 1840, painted his well-known picture of the Prince's entry into Edinburgh. But Mr. Blaikie Murdoch appears to regard it as the same, suggesting that, as Chalmers died in 1825, it may have passed through other hands, before it reached Mrs. Fraser, from whom the Scottish National Gallery acquired it in 1900."<sup>2</sup> Be this as it may, the bust is regarded as the most accurate of all the portraits of Charles and has a virility somewhat lost in the medals. These latter, however, are considered to have been very like the Prince, and a modern artist, the late Sir John Millais, has commented upon the strong family resemblance he noticed between this series and Wyon's rendering of Queen Victoria's features on her early coinage.<sup>3</sup>

### *The Second Transcript.*

But we must turn to the second transcript, which will show us that Charles did not restrict his presentations to his own portraits, but desired those of his father and mother to be sent to him, probably from Rome, since most of those mentioned are by the Hameranis.

<sup>1</sup> *Pickle the Spy*, p. 16. Mr. Lang says "sold in Red Lion Square," but King writes in "Red Lion Street."

<sup>2</sup> *The Scots Magazine* for March, 1925, article on the "Lemoyne Bust of Prince Charles," by W. G. Blaikie Murdoch, p. 419.

<sup>3</sup> *Pickle the Spy*, p. 16.

We have said that this transcript is but an undated fragment, and as such it carries little weight. It runs as follows :—

" P.S. Je vous joint ici cet petite note des Medailles que S.A.R., en veut fait faire, de creinte de ne pas avoir Expliqué dans ma lettre.

- 1<sup>mo</sup>. Vint Medailles de leur Altesses Royales,
2. Vint autre du Roy et de la Reine,
3. Vint autre de la fuite de la Reine d'Ins[bruck],

qui sont en toute 60, mais avent tout. Il faut savoir si le Roy veut donnere, la permissione, de fair les Empreintes et apres le pris ce que ces Medailles pouront couter, a faire que S.A.R. Envoy de l'Argent par un lettre de change a Mr. Belloni."<sup>1</sup>

The medals here mentioned are probably the following :—

No. 1.—The Princes Charles and Henry, as children, the elder brother on the obverse, the younger on the reverse, of which the



PRINCE CHARLES AND PRINCE HENRY.

(*Medallic Illustrations*, vol. ii, p. 493, No. 35.)

full description will be found in the second volume of *Medallic Illustrations*, pp. 492–3, Nos. 34 and 35. The former is illustrated

<sup>1</sup> Signor Girolamo Belloni appears in September, 1745, as remitting money "at the King's disposal" who, by an order of August 11, ordered it to be "made good to his R.H." Browne, vol. iv, p. 35. It is clear that the writer of the letter was an Italian and even a worse French scholar than Charles himself.

on p. 254, Fig. C, in our last volume, and is signed by Ottone Hamerani. The second, illustrated above, is unsigned, but bears the wolf and twins, the impress of the Papal Mint, on the truncation of the Prince Charles's shoulder. Incised figures scratched on my specimens, 15 and 51, at the sides of this emblem can only be a reference number, unless the first "5" be intended for "7"; but it does not appear on other specimens, and so must be dismissed as without significance, and I do not suggest that it is a copy made in 1751. There is, however, in the British Museum a palpable copy signed "A.F." It is inferior to Hamerani's original. One Agostino Franchi, a die-sinker in Venice, used these initials, and as Charles was in that city in 1750 he might have ordered a copy to be made there.

No. 2.—The "Marriage" medals, by the Hamerani family, of James Francis Edward and Clementina his wife (see *Medallic Illustrations*, vol. ii, pp. 445-6, Nos. 51-2), would answer to this description :—



MARRIAGE MEDAL OF JAMES AND CLEMENTINA.

(BY OTTONE HAMERANI.)

(*Medallic Illustrations*, vol. ii, p. 446, No. 52.)

or possibly the Jugate portrait by Norbert Roettiers, prepared on the birth of Prince Charles (*Medallic Illustrations*, vol. ii, p. 453, No. 61).

This medal, excepting in a rare proof in my collection, appears to be known only as a re-strike.



BIRTH OF PRINCE CHARLES MEDAL.

(*Medallic Illustrations*, vol. ii, p. 453, No. 61.)

No. 3.—The same bust by Ottone Hamerani of Clementina as the above, on her marriage, but with a reverse representing the Princess's flight (*Medallic Illustrations*, vol. ii, p. 444, No. 49), must be here intended.

With the exception of No. 51, which is by Ermenegildo Hamerani, and possibly No. 61 from the hand of Norbert Roettiers, all these medals are by Ottone Hamerani, from which we may infer that the "King" whose permission was requested was Prince Charles Edward's father, to whom the title of "King of England" was accorded in Rome. Norbert Roettiers died in 1727 and Ottone Hamerani in 1744, and if the heirs of the medallists were requested to make re-strikes from the dies, which must have been at least sixteen and five-and-twenty years old respectively, it is not unlikely that it would be considered preferable to make copies.

We are here assuming that the medals were wanted for distribution in Prince Charles's expedition to Scotland in 1745, or for his wanderings in 1750 and the following years; but as we have not the letter to which this order is a postscript we are working in the dark, and it is with the greatest diffidence that I put forth the suggestion that we may thus account for the number of re-strikes taken from

dies other than those which passed through the hands of Mr. Young, who avowedly issued a certain number in 1827, before the Roettiers dies were defaced and presented by him to the British Museum.

Another possibility, but a bare possibility only, presents itself. Was "le Roy" again Louis XV, from whom the writer desired permission that Charles Norbert Roettiers or another might make certain copies of old medals combining them with other reverses? We might in this way account for the very rare medal<sup>1</sup> which bears on the obverse the head of James originally designed by Norbert



QUEEN ANNE AND PRINCE JAMES.

(*Medallic Illustrations*, vol. ii, p. 382, No. 232.)

Roettiers in 1708 on the "CVIVS EST" medal (*Medallic Illustrations*, vol. ii, p. 314, No. 136), whilst the reverse bears an inscription appropriate to Prince Charles's expedition. There are several varieties of these copies with chased or stippled backgrounds, combinations of the portraiture of Prince James with Queen Anne (*Medallic Illustrations*, vol. ii, p. 382, No. 232) and revivals of the young head of Prince James and Princess Louisa (see *Medallic Illustrations*, vol. ii, pp. 388, 389, Nos. 241 and 242), which, according to Sir Henry Ellis, were

<sup>1</sup> See illustrations in *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. xvi, p. 262, and *Medallic Illustrations*, vol. ii, p. 314, No. 137.

"executed by desire of the partisans of the exiled family to form a series of medallic portraits of its members."<sup>1</sup>

We must bear in mind that Norbert Roettiers's dies were the subject of a correspondence in 1728 between the widow of the medallist and the father of Prince Charles, and that the dies remained in the hands of the Roettiers family. In the year 1745, therefore, if Prince Charles wanted medals from these dies they must be obtained from a member of Norbert's family, namely, from James, son of Norbert, who as a goldsmith was in the employ of King Louis just as was his cousin Charles Norbert, the maker of the *Amor et Spes* medal. Failing, therefore, the accessibility of the dies in the hands of James, the son of Norbert, any artist might be commissioned to make copies, and the study of those with stippled backgrounds suggests that copies they are from the older medals. That such medals were made for Prince Charles seems probable, although the connection with the paper quoted above is of the slightest, for it does but tend to emphasise the fact that a portrait medal or miniature was almost the only form of complimentary gratification which could be offered by the Prince to those who were prepared to place his father upon the throne or to lose all for his sake.

One word more on the portraiture of Charles Edward. In Scotland the fact that he had accepted the national costume was not easily forgotten, and in many a castle or old house a piece of his plaid, a ribbon or cockade is treasured. Robert Chambers, in his *History of the Rebellion*,<sup>2</sup> tells us that when Charles was at Holyrood in September, 1745, "the ladies busied themselves in procuring locks of his hair, miniature portraits of his person and ribbons in which he was represented as a 'Highland Laddie.'" Some of these treasures survive, and a ribbon worn in his bonnet in 1745 by Prince Charles and woven with the figure of a Highlander was shown in

<sup>1</sup> See p. 6, No. 43, of a rare pamphlet privately printed in 1833 by Sir Henry Ellis. It is entitled *List of Medals illustrative of the Abdication of James II*, and was lent to me by the late Mr. W. H. Webster.

<sup>2</sup> Chambers's *History of the Rebellion*, 1745-1746, edition of 1867, p. 140.



the recent exhibition at the West Highland Museum by Colonel Stewart of Achnacone, and another presented by the Prince to the unmarried ladies of Edinburgh at a ball given at Holyrood the night before the battle of Preston Pans, has come down to Sir Berkeley Milne from his great-great-grandmother, then a girl. I have seen a small bust in coloured wax, at the Museum of the Society of Scottish Antiquaries, showing him in Highland dress, and most of his miniatures show him in a tartan coat. The art in these latter is usually poor and not equal to the fine portraits executed in France before he set out upon his travels.

Antoine David painted him several times in his youth. A very attractive portrait by him in the Scottish National Gallery, signed and dated 1732, has helped to identify the artist of the picture, illustrated at the commencement of this article, in our London gallery in St. Martin's Place, originally attributed to Largillière. A bust illustrated by Andrew Lang in his *Prince Charles Edward*, at one time exhibited there, was discovered to represent, as Mr. Milner kindly tells me, Gustavus Adolphus IV of Sweden, and is now at the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge. It seems unnecessary to place before you many of the well-known pictures, inasmuch as Mr. Francis has brought forward the most pleasing in his admirable and exhaustive article. I am, however, by the kindness of Lord Beauchamp, able to illustrate a small painting, at Madresfield Court, of which the name of the artist is unrecorded; but, according to a print in Mr. Andrew's collection, taken from it by one Page in or about 1826, it may be the work of J. Van Diest. This artist, however, who was the son of the better-known Adrian Van Diest, was in the habit of working for General Wade, and it seems therefore unlikely that Charles called for his services.<sup>1</sup> The picture is somewhat in the style of Blanchet, whose portrait of the Prince is figured by Andrew Lang, from Colonel Walpole's collection.<sup>2</sup> We have on some of the medals seen "Bonnie

<sup>1</sup> We cannot attach much importance to the attribution of an engraving made so long after the original picture unless supported by other evidence.

<sup>2</sup> *Prince Charles Edward*, p. 48, published 1900.

Prince Charlie" in Highland dress, and it may therefore serve as a contrast to behold him dressed as a Pole in an interesting, although not very resembling, picture which was at Hardwick, Bury St. Edmunds, in the possession at the time of his death of Mr. Gery Milner Gibson-Cullum, to whom it had come by a direct provenance from Jacobina Sobieska Macdonald, a similar portrait being still in the Sobieski family, the Polish relations of Charles Edward's mother.



OIL-PAINTING OF PRINCE CHARLES, AT MADRESFIELD COURT.

(BY PERMISSION OF EARL BEAUCHAMP.)

It is now, by Mr. Cullum's bequest, in the National Portrait Gallery, where I had the pleasure of examining it in a good light. Its pedigree is so direct, through the above-mentioned Jacobina Macdonald,<sup>1</sup> the goddaughter of James Francis Edward, Prince Charles's father, that

<sup>1</sup> Miss Macdonald, a distant relation of Flora, who helped Prince Charles in his escape in 1746, eventually married a Dr. Schnell. Mrs. Schnell left the picture to Lady Cullum, wife of the Rev. Sir James Cullum of Hardwick, where it remained until its removal to the National Portrait Gallery.





PRINCE CHARLES IN POLISH DRESS.

(GIBSON CULLUM BEQUEST TO THE NATIONAL PORTRAIT GALLERY.)


there can be no doubt it has always been intended to represent the Prince; but the likeness is less convincing than one could wish, and one is inclined to think the painter gave much play to his imagination and, perhaps, was not working from life. Amongst the many rumours concerning the whereabouts of Charles in 1749, Mr. Lang<sup>1</sup> refers to a private visit to Poland, but his careful search into the Prince's movements failed to prove this, although he had been mentioned amongst possible candidates for the Polish crown. A presentment in the dress of the country was always a good card to play. But for a really convincing portrait of Charles, we must always turn to the bust at Edinburgh; and for sentiment, to the numerous miniatures and prints in Highland costume, which show him as he endeared himself to the people north of the Tweed; and for idealisation, to the medals, which have made us so familiar with his profile, in all the glamour of his romantic youth.

<sup>1</sup> *Pickle the Spy*, pp. 46-8.



## THE ATTRIBUTION OF THE "BR" MONOGRAM ON CHARLES I's COINS.

BY LIEUT.-COLONEL H. W. MORRIESON, F.S.A.

 HERE is a certain series of Declaration coins having a distinctive mark, the letters "BR" in monogram, not only as a mint-mark, but in the field both on the obverse and reverse, and bearing the dates of 1643, 1644 and 1645. These coins were at one time attributed to Oxford, but later knowledge has transferred them to the mint at Bristol, which was alleged to be at work during that period. Mr. H. Symonds<sup>1</sup> supports the early attribution on the strength—first, that in 1684 Mr. Thomas Baskerville, in his topographical description of Oxford<sup>2</sup> in the account of St. John's College, states: "I am informed by my worthy friend Mr. Richard Rod y<sup>t</sup> when King Charles ye first had his residence in Oxford in y<sup>e</sup> time of our Civil wars, the King wanting cash to pay his soldiers he was necessitated to send for the colledge plate to coyne money and accordingly had it delivered to him, but St. John's Colledge people being loath to loose the memory of their Benefactors gave ye King a sume of money to ye value of it and so it staid with them some time; but ye King's urgent occasions for money still pressing him forward he sent to demand it a second time and had it, upon wch ye King ordered the rebus of Richard Bayley the then President of St. John's, 1644, to be put on ye money coyn'd with y<sup>e</sup> plate; Mr. Rod did help me to half a crown of this money wch

<sup>1</sup> *Numismatic Chronicle*, 4th series, vol. x, pp. 203-5, "The Monogram 'BR' or 'RB' on certain coins of Charles I."

<sup>2</sup> *Rawlinson MSS.*, D. 810, in the Bodleian Library.



had y<sup>e</sup> rebus of Rich. Bayley on both sides, viz<sup>t</sup> under y<sup>e</sup> King a horseback on one side and under this motto REL. PRO. LE. ANG. LIB. PAR. . . . and under 1644 on y<sup>e</sup> other side." Second, the absence of any direct evidence that there was a mint at Bristol. Besides these two points, Mr. Symonds has two minor ones. Third, that the records of St. John's show that an unusual transaction was negotiated with Charles. Fourth, the similarity of type. If Mr. Rod had taken up any half-crown of 1643 to 1646 with OX on the reverse, he could have pointed out to Mr. Baskerville this same rebus, for all the R's in the legends have the bottom serif prolonged to the rear and slightly turned up at the end, so that the R appears as BR in monogram, especially when the coin is slightly rubbed.

From January 5 to 7, 1642-3, two to four days after the arrival of the mint at Oxford, the king sent letters to the colleges of that University—that to St. John's was dated the 6th—earnestly requesting them to lend him their plate to be coined into money, which would be repaid by him "after the rate of 5s. the ounce for white and 5s. 6d. for gilt plate, as soon as God shall enable us."

The Colleges, including St. John's, assented, and by January 20 twelve of them had handed over their plate. St. John's and others followed suit later. St. John's, however, added this stipulation to their assent, viz. "and withall an humble petition that His Majestie would please to assign a considerable part of the plate to bee coined for the proper use of the college; it being apparent unto them that unless his Majestie doe graciously yield unto them their humble petition, the College is left plainlie unable to answer the debt contracted by the new building (the new quadrangle), sustain the necessary burdens of the house and provide commons for the students." This was agreed to, for on a day not stated the wardens acknowledge to have received "176 lbs. and 2 ozs. 10 dwts. of white and 48 lbs. 1 oz. 10 dwts. of 'gilt' plate;" and further, that "the President and Fellows have reserved to the necessary use of their College . . . the sum of £300 which Sir William Parkhurst and Thomas Bushel wardens of his Majestie's mint doe promise to pay

them accordingly."<sup>1</sup> The compiler of this Appendix makes no reference to any peculiar mark being granted to distinguish the coins made from this plate, which it may be presumed he would have done had it been so recorded, as he has apparently gone into the subject very fully. With other Colleges, St. John's had in July, 1642, lent the king £800, and likewise in July, 1643, was called upon for assistance towards the payment of his Majesty's foot-soldiers.

The value of the plate surrendered by the College works out at approximately £688 at the rate of repayment promised by the King. It would not have taken long to have coined this amount, for at the rate the Shrewsbury mint worked, viz. under a thousand pounds a week,<sup>2</sup> it would have been finished easily in five days, and at the average working of the Aberystwith mint, £68 1s. 8d. a week, it would have taken about ten weeks and a day. It can be taken that the mint at Oxford could work at a higher rate than that of Shrewsbury, as it was considered at the time that the latter had been more for reputation than use. I think, therefore, that this money was all coined before the end of 1642.

On the coins struck in 1642 there is no mark that can distinguish the source from whence the silver was derived, and only on one of the early pieces of 1643, a nearly unique half-crown, with the mint-mark plume, which has an A stamped under the horse, is it indicated.<sup>3</sup> This coin must have been struck for some special reason, as the A has been added to a die. If this A had been a BR it might have been attributed to St. John's, but clearly this letter can have no reference to that college. The BR coins must have been struck later in 1643, for those bearing that date are much scarcer than those of 1644, and therefore come twelve months after the plate had been sent to the mint. The dies were evidently engraved by a different artist, and are quite different from any Oxford coin. The reverse is quite distinctive, as the legend commences at the top

<sup>1</sup> 4th Report, Historical MSS. Commission, Appendix, p. 466.

<sup>2</sup> *Ruding*, vol. ii, p. 209.

<sup>3</sup> Hamilton-Smith Sale, Pl. IV, lot 39.

instead of from the left, and the declaration reads on the half-crown, which is the commonest denomination, RELIG: PROT-LE: AN: LI: P.A. instead of RELIG: PROT: LEG- ANG: LIBER: PAR. There are, however, some half-crowns of Oxford which have the same legend as those with "BR," but they are of peculiar workmanship, which puts doubts into my mind as to their right attribution. Even if the silver had been sent at the time these "BR" coins were issued, it does not appear to be credible that for striking the trifling sum of £668 a whole new set of dies for coins, from the half-crown to the half-groat, would be made, and that, after doing all this, the authorities would take the best part of two years to strike that which could be done in a few days. As Magdalen, All Souls, and Exeter Colleges surrendered greater quantities of plate than St. John's, and apparently without any stipulation,<sup>1</sup> and no peculiar mark is claimed by any of them, nor did St. John's do any greater service than was demanded of any other College, I fail to see why it should have any special privilege, and Mr. Rod must have been voicing a popular error of the day.

At the restoration of Charles II, Bushell petitioned the King to repay him various sums of money which he had disbursed for the services of the late king. This petition was referred to a committee of the Privy Council, consisting of the Lord Treasurer and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, for enquiry and report. Bushell was unable to produce actual vouchers, as many had perished in the house of Mr. Edwards, an apothecary of Bristol with whom he lodged, when it was burnt down by accident, while the remainder of his papers were afterwards seized by order of Cromwell. However, many written statements were procured from various persons with whom Bushell had had dealings.

The Committee reported favourably, but no compensation was ever paid. After Bushell's death these statements were collected by Colonel Colpepper his executor, and now compose a part of *Harl. MS.* 6833, now in the British Museum.

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Nelson, "The Gold Coins issued from Oxford, 1642-46," *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. xi, p. 186.

Most of the documents in this MS. refer to the supply of clothing for the soldiers of the Royal Army, others to his claims for compensation for the loss on a twenty-one years' lease of the duties and customs of lead, lead ore and lytherage of lead in England and Wales, which had been granted to him on February 20, 1643, and of which he had been deprived; a few concern his expenses incurred by his defence of Lundy Island, and the remainder relate to Bristol.

I will now give a few extracts which refer to a mint at Bristol:—

A.—Page 54. "The Petitionary Remonstrance of Thomas Bushell Esqre. to the Right Honourable the Lord Treasurer and the Lord Ashley Chancellor of His Majesty's Exchequer touching his accompt" states: "I was at great charge of maintaining Lundy garrison and building a castle there, repairing the Castle of Bristol by His Majesty's Special Command and setting up a mint there by His Majesty's Command."

B.—A letter under the Royal Sign Manual concerning clothing addressed "To our trusty and well beloved Thomas Bushell Esqre. one of the wardens of our mint at Bristol," dated 17th May, 1644.

C.—Page 23. "The accounts of Thomas Bushell Esqre. for several disbursements in His late Majesty's service, presented to the Right Honourable the Lord Treasurer and the Lord Ashley Chancellor of the Exchequer."

"II 1643. For repairing the Castle of Bristol and setting up a mint there by His Majesty's special Command, £1,020.

"N. Anno 1642, 1643, 1644 he weekly supplied with fine silver the mints of Salop, Oxford and Bristol, 100*l*."

D.—Sir J. Knight of Bristol, who appears to have been employed in collecting evidence, in his report, p. 45, states: "I will not trouble your Lordship with his repairing the Castle

of Bristol and setting up a mint to coin 100*l.* of his own silver brought from the mines in Wales."

E.—Page 40. Sir Wm. Parkhurst recommends Sir J. Knight to take the evidence of Richard Nichols, the Vice-Provost of the Corporation of Moneyers of the Mint at the Tower, and trusted by his fellows to manage their business at the mint at Shrewsbury, Oxford and Bristol.

F.—Pages 40, 41. Richard Nichols, referred to by Sir Wm. Parkhurst, states that Bushell at Bristol was "at great charge in repairing the Castle and setting up a mint therein," and supplied silver till the enemy took his mines.

Bristol was taken by the Cavaliers on July 26, 1643, and recaptured by the Parliamentary forces on September 11, 1645, a period which comprises the years of the "BR" coins. The extracts given above show that the mint there was in existence in the years 1643 and 1644. 1645 is not mentioned, one reason, perhaps, being that by that time Bushell had lost his mines in Wales, but it is reasonably to be expected that the mint existed until its surrender in September of that year.

The "BR" coins themselves fit in well with a regular issue. The first of these are mules of the half-crown and shilling, the obverse dies belonging to the early types of Oxford, 1643, followed by proper obverses; the first reverses are without the BR. These coins without the BR I consider were issued at the same time as the intermediate coins of 1643 at Oxford with the small horse without OX on the reverse, and that the BR was introduced at the same time as OX at Oxford. Bushell must have worked under his letters patent for the Aberystwith mint, for the rule about the plume was well complied with. He may have looked upon it as a branch from Oxford which was worked under the same patent. With the exception of the halfpenny, all the pieces authorised by his patent were struck; there is, however, one strange coin—the nearly unique unite

of 1645. The series ends in 1645, which coincides with the fall of Bristol. As regards these initials BR, there is OX for Oxford, EX for Exeter, CHST for Chester, and W which is attributed to Weymouth, so I fail to see the objection to BR standing for Bristol.

From the above I trust I have shown these coins cannot have any reference to St. John's College, as they must have been first struck months after its plate had been delivered, and that their right attribution is to Bristol.







SOME ENTRIES OF NUMISMATIC INTEREST IN THE  
MASTER'S ACCOUNTS OF THE MERCHANT TAILORS'  
GILD OF DUBLIN, 1553-61.

BY LIEUT.-COLONEL H. W. MORRIESON, F.S.A.



AMONG the papers in the *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, vol. xlviii, part 1, June, 1918, is an entertaining one by Dr. H. F. Berry, I.S.O., entitled "The Merchant Tailors' Gild—that of St. John the Baptist of Dublin, 1418-1841," which contains some items which may interest the members of this Society. These occur in the extracts from the Master's account for the years 1553 to 1561 which appear on p. 22, as follows:—

1553.

Priests and clerks St. John's Midsummer Even, 8*d.* Irish. Wine and bread to the same company St. John's Day, 4½*d.* Sir John Callan, your priest, 3*s.* 4*d.* (wages for year).

Paid Steven Basse (Casse) for playing Pilot on Corpus Christi Day, 2*d.* Irish: for his dinner and his lady's, 12*d.* Irish: gloves and trayels (?) to Pilot, 9*d.* Irish.

1554-5.

Bellman, 3*d.*; clerk for ringing the mind, 6*d.*; ale against St. John's Day, 3*d.*; cakes, 4*d.*; aniseed, 16*d.*; comfits, 3*d.*; saffron, 18*d.*; butter, 12*d.*; eggs and milk, 6*d.*; sack, 3*d.*; claret wine, 21*d.*

Paid to the Emperor and Empress, 9*d.*; for their breakfast and dinner, 18*d.*; for painting the Emperor's head, 8*d.*

In 1556-7, the receipts of the gild, in rents, quarterages, fines, &c., amounted to £34 5s. 6½*d.* Irish, and the disbursements to £14 18s. 10*d.* Irish.

1557.

Paid Sir John Kelly for reading the Roll, 6*d.* The parson, for his light at Dirige and Mass, 12*d.* Charge of myself and brethren that went to the Basken, 8s.

1558.

Received at Mass the Sunday after St. John's Day, of our part of the offering, 21*d.* Irish: do., St. Mydrype's Day at Mass, 9*d.*

Paid for drink for the priests and clerks after Dirige, 18*d.*; Ringing the mind for brethren and sisters, 6*d.*; mending St. John's nose, 4*d.*; for five "coppes" on the standards in St. John's Church.

1560.

Paid for my company's breakfast and mine when we went to the Tallange (Tallaght) to the lord chancellor, 18*d.*

Making a sword for the Emperor, 12*d.* Irish.

1561.

Recd. of John Roche, Shepe St., fine due, 12 white groats.

John Kene, fine for an income as a brother, 8 white testers.

Jeffery Mysell, income as apprentice, 6 testers, 2 groats, 3 ob.

Henry Small, income as journeyman, 2 white groats.

Recd. of John Desmond, Wicklow, rent, Mich. term.

Walter Byrford, for loft over the poor house, 9 brown backs.

On reading this page, the first thing which interests us is that some of the amounts are stated in Irish currency. I expect, however, that all are meant to be, and this idea is strengthened by the total receipts and disbursements for 1556-7 being given in Irish money. In the whole of the extracts from the accounts, this is the only page in which items in Irish currency are mentioned.

The next is that all amounts under two shillings are written in pence, *e.g.* claret wine, 21*d.* This continued for a long period. It

last appeared in an entry in 1617-18; when 12*d.* were paid for white lights at Walter Gorry's burial. After 1617-18 there are no entries between one and two shillings till 1711-12, when there appears "Spent on a walk with the two new wardens, 1*s.* 8*d.*" These walks were for the purposes of search and of surprising craftsmen engaged in practices contrary to the Gild rules. The change may have occurred before then, as the accounts from 1658 to 1699 are missing.

Last of all are the entries for the year 1561.

Before entering into an examination of these items, it will be necessary to review the value of the coins then current in Ireland. There were: (1) The "Harp" groats issued by Henry VIII. (2) The base shilling and lower denominations issued by Edward VI both for England and Ireland. (3) The "Harp" shilling, groat, half-groat and penny of Mary, 7 oz. fine. (4) The harp shilling, groat and rose penny of Philip and Mary, 3 oz. fine. (5) The base shilling and groat of Elizabeth issued in 1558-9, 3 oz. fine; and, lastly, her silver shilling and groat of 1561 of 11 oz. fine.

Their value according to a Proclamation published in Dublin on July 14, 1561, was as follows<sup>1</sup>:—

"The harp shilling of Mary, at 8*d.* Irish.

"The harp shilling of Philip and Mary and that of 1558-9, 5½*d.* Irish.

"The harp groats of the same stamp and standard, 1¾*d.*, or three for 5½*d.*

"The harp groats of Henry VIII, 1¼*d.* Irish.

"The rose penny 3/2 farthings, Irish, or four for 1½*d.*"

The value of the monies of Edward VI were not referred to in that Proclamation, but in a previous one published in December, 1560, they are given as:—

"The shilling countermarked with the portcullis, 7*d.* Irish, and that with the greyhound, 3½*d.*"

<sup>1</sup> "The Elizabethan Coinages for Ireland," by H. Symonds, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 4th series, vol. xvii, p. 105.

but no mention is made of the smaller denomination coined at Dublin during that reign.<sup>1</sup>

The fine shilling of 1561 was current at 12*d.* Irish, or 9*d.* English ; and the groat at 4*d.* Irish, or 3*d.* English.

Taking into consideration the different values of these coins, how very difficult it must have been for the cashiers and accountants in Ireland to have kept their own accounts in those days.

I will now consider the different items of the accounts of 1561.

The fine of John Roche, 12 white groats, were evidently the fine groats of 1561, and that of John Kene, 8 white testers, were the shillings of that year. The 6 testers, 2 groats, 3 ob. from Jeffery Mysell gives much more trouble in estimating the value of his fee. They must have been of the old base money. There were then no less than four different values for the tester, viz. one of 8*d.*, one of 7*d.*, two of 5½*d.*, and one of 3½*d.*, so the value of these 6 testers varied between 1*s.* 9*d.* and 4*s.* The groats likewise varied, as there was one of 1¾*d.*, another 1¼*d.*, so that the value of the two groats varied between 2½*d.* and 3½*d.* As for the 3 obols or halfpence, it is difficult to say what coin this would refer to. The halfpenny coined in Dublin for Edward VI was really three farthings Irish, but was probably then not worth a farthing, as the rose penny was only current for three half-farthings. Another coin that might be the equivalent to a halfpenny is the Edward Dublin penny, or three halfpence Irish. These Dublin coins, it must be remembered, were 4 oz. fine to the rose penny's 3 oz.

Then come the 9 brown backs paid by Walter Byrford. Here I must acknowledge that only a surmise can be given. The only nickname given by Simon is that of "Bungal," which apparently applied to the base English groats. I can only suggest that a brown back was a term applied to the base shillings of Edward VI, which can be assumed to have become very brown in appearance by that time. If this surmise is correct, the value of the entry varies between

<sup>1</sup> "The Elizabethan Coinages for Ireland," by H. Symonds, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 4th series, vol. xvii, p. 101.

2s. 7½*d.* and 5s. 3*d.* All these show, as I have before stated, the difficulties of keeping correct accounts, and what an opening there was for fraud.

Some explanation of some other items on the page may be of interest.

The Festival of the Gild was held on June 24, Midsummer Day, being the feast of St. John its patron Saint, when the members of the fraternity attended divine service at the Church of St. John the Evangelist, now no more, and afterwards adjourned to a banquet; the amounts paid for refreshment on this day frequently appear in the extract. It is to be hoped that the Chaplain had other sources of income than the stipend of 3s. 4*d.* St. John's Day was also called St. Mydrype, *i.e.* the middle of reaping before full harvest. On certain days the Gild was entitled to a share of the offertory. It appears to have been the custom for the Gild to have taken part in the pageant always carried out in Dublin on the Festival of Corpus Christi. In 1553, Stephen Casse was paid 2*d.* Irish for representing Pontius Pilate, and various small sums were paid for articles of apparel and for refreshment of his lady and himself.

The Emperor and Empress probably refer to the characters of Herod and his wife in the Corpus Christi or some other pageant.

The "baskin" was a property belonging to the Gild, and it was a custom to visit it in state once a year, when doubtless the deputation had an enjoyable day.

The Chancellor of 1560 was Hugh Curwen, the Archbishop of Dublin, who had a residence at Tallaght.

It always gives me great pleasure to read these ancient accounts. They are generally written in such a naïve manner, and give quite an insight into the habits and customs of those bygone days, and afford such a contrast to the bald and dry entries of our present-day accounts.





ORDERS, DECORATIONS, AND MEDALS, GIVEN TO THE  
BRITISH NAVY, ARMY, AND FLYING FORCE IN  
THE GREAT WAR.

BY MAJOR W. J. FREER, D.L., V.D., F.S.A., *President*.



THINK this is an appropriate time to inform the Members of the British Numismatic Society of the honours conferred on, and so well deserved by, our glorious Navy, Army, and Flying Force.

GREAT BRITAIN.

VICTORIA CROSS (V.C.).

The Military and Naval badge is a bronze Cross with Royal Crest in the centre, and underneath it a scroll, with the motto "For Valour." Instituted by Queen Victoria, February 8, 1856. It is the decoration of eminent personal valour, and the sole claim to it consists in the display of conspicuous bravery or devotion to the country in the presence of the enemy. The Cross is in the form of a cross-pattée (Templar's Cross). It was formerly suspended by a blue ribbon if worn by a sailor, and a red ribbon if by a soldier, but now red only. The date of the act of bravery is inscribed in the centre of the reverse, with the name of the action or campaign in which the honour was won. On the reverse side of the bar to which the ribbon is attached the rank and name of the recipient is engraved; for every fresh act of bravery equal to the first an additional bar is granted.

A pension of £10 per annum is bestowed upon Non-Commissioned Officers and men who receive the Cross, and a further pension of £5 a year is given with each bar.



By Warrant dated December 13, 1858, it was declared that non-military persons who, as volunteers, had borne arms in the Indian Mutiny, should be eligible to receive this Decoration, which ranks before all other medals. In the case of deceased persons, this Decoration is given to the nearest relative.<sup>1</sup>

Since the commencement of the Great War, 1914-19, it has been given to those serving in the Indian Army.

#### THE MOST HONOURABLE ORDER OF THE BATH.

This Order was probably instituted by King Henry IV in 1399. After the Coronation of Charles II the Order was neglected till 1725, when George I revived and remodelled it.

On January 2, 1815, it was enlarged, and divided into three Classes, in commemoration of "the auspicious termination of the long and arduous contest in which this Empire has been engaged."

On April 4, 1847, it was further increased by the addition of Civil Divisions of the first, second, and third Classes, when new statutes were made for the government of the Order, which has since been reissued, and the Order now consists of the following Members (besides Honorary Members) :—

1st Class.—Knights Grand Cross (G.C.B.).

2nd Class.—Knights Commanders (K.C.B.).

3rd Class.—Companions of the Order (C.B.).

*Badge, Military.*—Gold Maltese Cross of eight points, enamelled white, in each angle a lion passant guardant or ; in the centre a rose, thistle and shamrock, issuant from a sceptre between three Imperial Crowns or, within a circle gules, thereon the motto of the Order, surrounded by two branches of laurel proper, issuing from an escroll azure, inscribed "Ich Dien" (I serve) in letters of gold. It is worn, by G.C.B.'s, pendant from a red ribbon across the right shoulder ; by K.C.B.'s, round the neck ; and by Companions, formerly on the left breast, now round the neck.

<sup>1</sup> Warrant dated August 8, 1902.

*Collar.*—This is of gold (30 oz. troy), and is composed of nine Imperial Crowns, and eight roses, thistles and shamrocks, issuing from a sceptre enamelled in their proper colours, tied or linked together with seventeen gold knots enamelled white, having the badge of the Order pendant therefrom.

*The Star* of the Grand Cross of the *Military Division* is formed of rays or flames of silver, thereon a gold Maltese Cross, and in the centre, within the motto, branches of laurel, issuant as in the Badge.

*The Badge and Star of G.C.B.'s, Civil Division*, are the old K.B. Badge and Star of the Order.

*The Star* is of silver, formed of eight principal points, or rays, charged with three Imperial Crowns proper, upon a glory of silver rays, surrounded by a red enamel circle upon which is the motto of the Order.

*The Badge* is of gold, composed of a rose, thistle, and shamrock, issuing from a sceptre between three Imperial Crowns, encircled by the motto.

*Star of Military K.C.B.'s* is a cross-pattée, in silver, charged with three Imperial Crowns proper upon a glory of silver rays, surrounded by a red enamel circle, upon which is the motto of the Order, "Tria juncta in uno," branches of laurel, and riband inscribed "Ich Dien."

*Badge of Military K.C.B.'s* is like that of G.C.B.'s, but smaller, and worn round the neck.

*Badge of Military C.B.'s* is like that of K.C.B.'s, but smaller, and is also worn round the neck.

*The K.C.B.'s of the Civil Division* wear the like Badge, of a smaller size, round the neck by a ribbon; and *the Companions* of the *Civil Division* the same, but of a still smaller size, also round the neck from a red ribbon.

*The Star* is a cross-pattée silver, charged with three Imperial Crowns proper, upon a glory of silver rays, surrounded by a red enamel circle upon which is the motto of the Order.

*The Star of the K.C.B.'s, Civil Division*, is of the same form and

size, omitting the laurel wreath and the escroll, and is worn on the left side.

*Ribbon*.—Red.

*Motto*.—"Tria juncta in uno" (Three joined in one).

THE MOST DISTINGUISHED ORDER OF ST. MICHAEL AND  
ST. GEORGE.

Instituted by King George IV when Prince Regent, April 27, 1818, by Letters Patent, in commemoration of the Republic of the Ionian Islands being placed under the protection of Great Britain. The Order has been enlarged and extended.

*The Badge* is a gold Cross of fourteen points of white enamel, edged with gold, having, in the centre, on one side, St. Michael encountering Satan, and on the other St. George on horseback encountering a Dragon, within a blue enamel circle, on which the motto of the Order is inscribed. The Cross is surmounted by the Imperial Crown, and worn by the *Knights Grand Cross*, attached to the collar, or to a wide Saxon-blue ribbon, with a scarlet stripe, from the right shoulder to the left side.

*Knights Commanders* wear the badge suspended to a narrow ribbon from the neck.

*The Companions* wear the small Cross of the Order from a still narrower ribbon, also from the neck.

*The Star of a K.G.C.* is composed of seven rays of silver, having a small ray of gold between each of them, and over all the Cross of St. George gules. In the centre the same as above, inscribed with the motto, "Auspicium melioris ævi."

*The Collar* is formed alternately of Lions of England, of Maltese Crosses, and of the cyphers S.M. and S.G., having in the centre the Imperial Crown over two winged lions, passant guardant, each holding a book, with seven arrows. At the opposite end of the Collar are two similar lions. The whole is of gold, except the Crosses, which are of white enamel, and is linked together by small gold chains.

*The Ribbon of the Order*.—Saxon-blue, with a scarlet centre stripe.



MEDAL.



4



3



5

THE MOST EXCELLENT ORDER OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE.

THE MOST EXCELLENT ORDER OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE.

*June, 1917.*—Naval and Military Officers can be admitted to the Order for services of a non-combatant character, and it consists of two Divisions, Military and Civil. The Order ranks after the Royal Victorian Order, and consists of the following classes :—

<i>Men.</i>	<i>Ladies.</i>
1. Knights Grand Cross (G.B.E.).	1. Dames Grand Cross (G.B.E.).
2. Knights Commanders (K.B.E.).	2. Dames Commanders (D.B.E.).
3. Commanders (C.B.E.) (Military).	3. Commanders (C.B.E.).
4. Officers (O.B.E.) (Military).	4. Officers (O.B.E.).
5. Members (M.B.E.) (Reverse—Civil).	5. Members (M.B.E.).

*The Badge*, as worn by Members of the first three Classes, is a silver-gilt Cross; the arms of the Cross enamelled in pearl-grey, and in the centre, in a circle enamelled crimson, Britannia seated. On circle, motto of the Order, "For God and the Empire." Badge, fourth Class, is smaller, and is silver-gilt without enamel. The fifth Class is silver.

*Stars* are worn by Members of the first and second Classes.

*Ribbon.*—Purple—plain for Civilians; with red centre stripe for Military.

A Silver Medal of the Order can be awarded to persons whose services to the Empire merit such recognition. It has, on the obverse, Britannia within the circle, and motto; and, on the reverse, the cypher G.R.I., and is suspended from a purple ribbon by a ring.

In Leicestershire, the first two Silver Medals were presented by the Duke of Rutland, the Lord-Lieutenant, assisted by myself as Clerk to the Lieutenancy, to Miss Beatrice Evelyn Smith, of Loughborough, and Ernest Arthur Stubley, of Hathern, on April 17, 1918.

DISTINGUISHED SERVICE ORDER (D.S.O.).

Instituted by Queen Victoria, by Royal Warrant, September 6, 1886. Consists of Ordinary and Honorary Companions. No person is eligible who does not hold a Commission in the Navy, Land Forces or Marines, or the Indian or Colonial Forces, or a Commission in one



of the Departments of the Navy or Army. An eligible person must be specially mentioned in Despatches by Admiral or Senior Naval Officer Commanding, or by Commander-in-Chief of the Forces in the Field, for meritorious or distinguished service in the field or before the enemy.

This Order ranks after the 3rd Class of the Order of the British Empire.

*Badge*.—A gold Cross, enamelled white.

Obverse :—Within a laurel wreath, enamelled green, the Imperial Crown in gold upon a red-enamelled ground.

Reverse :—Within a laurel wreath, as on the obverse, and on a red-enamelled ground, the cypher V.R.I., or that of the reigning Monarch, interlaced.

*Ribbon*.—Red, edged blue, 1 inch in width.

Bars are now issued for second and other actions.

#### DISTINGUISHED CONDUCT IN THE FIELD (D.C.M.).

Instituted December 4, 1854. Silver Medal.

Obverse :—A Shield of the Royal Arms surmounted by a cuirass and helmet, surrounded by military trophies consisting of cannons, cannon-balls, flags, etc. This has now been replaced by a portrait of the reigning King.

Reverse :—Inscribed, "For Distinguished Conduct in the Field."

*Ribbon*.—Red, with blue stripe down the centre.

#### ROYAL RED CROSS.

A decoration instituted April 23, 1883, for rewarding services rendered by persons in nursing the sick and wounded of the Navy and Army. Two Classes : first, gold ; second, silver.

*Badge*.—A Cross, enamelled crimson, edged with gold, first Class ; edged silver, second Class ; having on the arms thereof the words "Faith, Hope, Charity," and the date of the institution of the decoration "1883." On a centre circle, gold, formerly the Queen's



effigy in relief, now a portrait of H.M. King George V. Reverse :— Her late Majesty's, now His present Majesty's, Royal and Imperial Cypher and Crown shown in relief on the centre.

*Ribbon.*—Dark blue, edged red, 1 inch in width, tied in a bow.

THE ORDER OF THE STAR OF INDIA  
and

THE ORDER OF THE INDIAN EMPIRE  
have been also awarded.<sup>1</sup>

THE DISTINGUISHED SERVICE MEDAL.

October 14, 1914. Given to Petty Officers and men of the Royal Navy and Royal Marines.

Obverse :—King George V in naval uniform ; inscription,  
“Georgivs V Britt: Omn: Rex et Ind: Imp:”

Reverse :—Inscription, “For Distinguished Service,” surmounted by a Crown, within a laurel wreath.

Bars for further services.

*Ribbon.*—Dark blue, two white stripes in centre.



<sup>1</sup> See *Handbook of the Orders of Chivalry, War Medals and Crosses, and Other Decorations*, with Illustrations, by Charles Norton Elvin, M.A., 1882, published by Deane and Son, 160, Fleet Street, London, E.C.2.

THE DISTINGUISHED SERVICE CROSS.  
(Formerly Conspicuous Service Cross.)

The latter was established by King Edward VII, in 1901, as a means of "recognizing meritorious or distinguished services before the enemy" performed by Warrant Officers (including Midshipmen, Naval Cadets, and Clerks) in the Navy. In October, 1914, the name was altered, and all below the rank of Lieutenant-Commander became entitled to receive it. The letters C.S.C. were altered to D.S.C. after the name of the recipient.

The Decoration is a plain Silver Cross-pattée convexed.

Obverse :—G.R., surmounted by an Imperial Crown.

Reverse :—Plain.

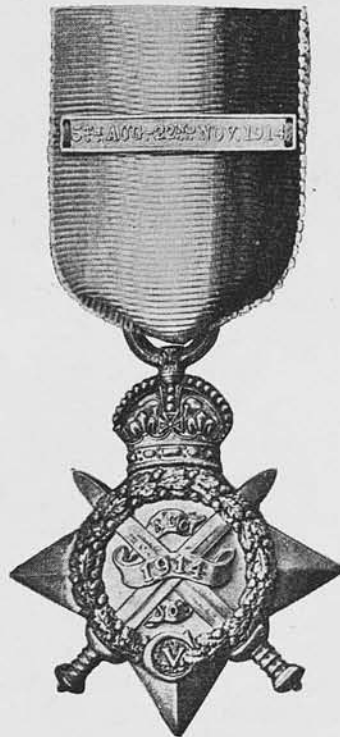
Bars for further services.

*Ribbon*.—Dark blue, with white stripe in centre.

1914 STAR.

Instituted in 1917.

Four-pointed Star in bright bronze, two crossed swords, with



scrolls, inscribed "AUG. 1914 NOV.", and encircled by an oak wreath with the Royal Cypher at the base. At the topmost point of the Star is a Crown with a ring for suspension.

*Ribbon* is red, white, and blue, watered and shaded, and is worn with the blue nearest the left shoulder, with a bar inscribed "5th Aug.-22nd Nov. 1914."

Service between August 5, 1914, and midnight November 22-23, 1914.

1914-15 STAR.

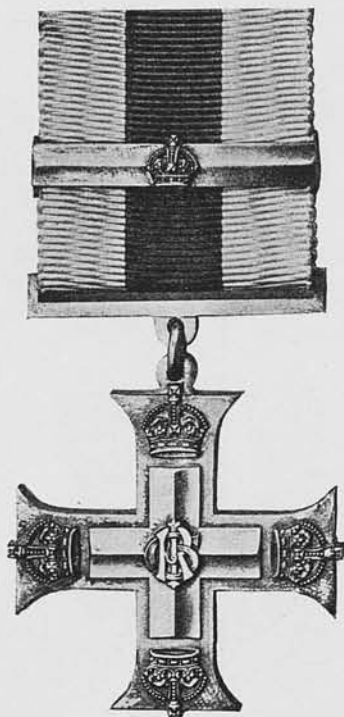
Same as above, date only altered to 1914-15. "Aug." and "Nov." omitted. No bar.



MILITARY CROSS.

December 31, 1914. Given to Captains and below that rank, or to Warrant Officers in the Army, Indian Army, or Colonial Forces.

The Cross is an ornamental silver one. On each arm is an Imperial Crown. In the centre is G.R.I. The Cross hangs from a plain silver clasp through which the ribbon (white with violet stripe in centre)



passes. Bars for further services. Ranks after Orders and before Medals. M.C. after recipient's name.

#### MILITARY MEDAL.

March, 1916. To Non-Commissioned Officers and men. Silver.

Obverse:—King George V in military uniform; inscription, "Georgivs V Britt: Omn: Rex et Ind: Imp: "

Reverse:—"For Bravery in the Field," surmounted by a Crown and Royal Cypher, inside a wreath of laurel.

This is worn before War Medals.

*Ribbon.*—Dark blue, in centre three white and two crimson stripes alternating.

Bars for further services.



#### ROYAL AIR FORCE DECORATIONS.

Orders and Medals conferred by His Majesty King George V, June 3, 1918.

Two Decorations awarded to Officers and Warrant Officers in the Royal Air Force, and two Medals to Non-Commissioned Officers and men in the same Force.

#### THE DISTINGUISHED FLYING CROSS.

To Officers and Warrant Officers for acts of gallantry when flying in active operations against the enemy.

*Ribbon.*—Purple and white.

A Silver Cross flory terminated in the horizontal and base bars with bombs, the upper bar terminating with a rose, surmounted by another cross composed of aeroplane propellers, charged in the centre with a roundel, within a wreath of laurels a rose-winged ensigned by an Imperial Crown, thereon the letters R.A.F. On the reverse the Royal Cypher and the date 1918.

#### THE AIR FORCE CROSS.

To the same as above, for acts of courage or devotion to duty when flying, although not in active operations against the enemy.

*Ribbon.*—Red and white.



A thunderbolt in the form of a Cross in silver, the arms conjoined by wings, the base-bar terminating with a bomb, surmounted by

another cross composed of aeroplane propellers, the four ends inscribed with the letters G.V.R.I. In the centre a roundel, thereon a representation of Hermes, mounted on a hawk in flight, bestowing a wreath. On the reverse, the Royal Cypher and date 1918, the whole ensigned by an Imperial Crown.

#### THE DISTINGUISHED FLYING MEDAL.

To Non-Commissioned Officers and men for acts of gallantry when flying in active operations against the enemy.

*Ribbon.*—Purple and white.



Silver, oval-shaped, with head of King and usual legend on obverse, and on the reverse a representation of Athena Nike seated on an aeroplane, a hawk rising from her right arm above the words FOR COURAGE.



## THE AIR FORCE MEDAL.

To the same as above, for acts of courage or devotion to duty when flying, although not in active operations against the enemy.

*Ribbon.*—Red and white.



Silver, oval-shaped, with head of King and usual legend on obverse, and on the reverse a representation of Hermes mounted on a hawk in flight, bestowing a wreath.

## AIR SERVICE DECORATION RIBBONS.

By Order, dated August, 1919, these are altered as follows :—

*Distinguished Flying Cross.*— $1\frac{1}{4}$  inches in width, violet and white alternate diagonal stripes, each  $\frac{1}{8}$  inch in width running at angles of 45 degrees.

*Air Force Cross.*— $1\frac{1}{4}$  inches in width, red and white alternate diagonal stripes as in last case.

*Distinguished Flying Medal.*—The same as that for the D.F.C., except that the stripes are  $\frac{1}{16}$  inch in width.

*Air Force Medal.*—The same as that for the A.F.C., except that the diagonal stripes are  $\frac{1}{16}$  inch in width.

The ribbons are worn  $\frac{1}{2}$  inch in depth, the diagonal stripes running downwards from the centre of the tunic towards the left.

#### BAR FOR FURTHER ACT OF VALOUR.

Where Officers, Warrant Officers and men who have been awarded one of the above Decorations or medals shall be recommended for a further act of valour, courage, or devotion to duty, he shall be awarded a bar to be attached to the ribbon.

A silver bar with a flying eagle in centre.

#### ROYAL AIR FORCE MERITORIOUS SERVICE MEDAL.

The Meritorious Service Medal is also granted to Warrant Officers, Non-Commissioned Officers and men of the Royal Air Force "for the recognition of valuable services rendered in the field as distinct from actual flying services."

Obverse:—Head of the King and legend, "Georgivs V  
Britt: Omn: Rex et Ind: Imp:"

Reverse:—"For Meritorious Service," crowned within a laurel wreath.

The medal is silver, and is worn with a distinctive ribbon by the Royal Air Force—wide blue and red stripes with three narrow white ones.

## ROYAL AIR FORCE LONG SERVICE AND GOOD CONDUCT MEDAL.

Silver medal.

Obverse:—Head of the King and legend, “Georgivs V  
Britt: Omn: Rex et Ind: Imp:”

Reverse:—Imperial Crown and flying eagle in centre. “For  
Long Service and Good Conduct.”



*Ribbon.*—Blue and red stripes of equal width, with narrow white borders.

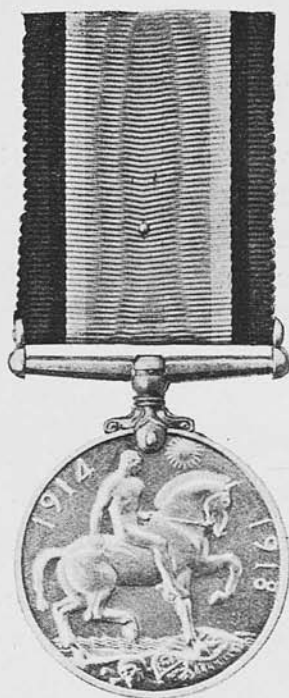
## THE BRITISH WAR MEDAL, 1914-19.

Army Order, dated July 16, 1919, which H.M. the King has granted “to record the bringing of the War to a successful conclusion, and the arduous services rendered by His Majesty’s Forces.”

*General Service Medal.*—

Obverse :—Head of the King and legend, “Georgivs V  
Britt: Omn: Rex et Ind: Imp:”

Reverse :—St. George on horseback, trampling on the shield  
of the Central Powers. A skull and cross-  
bones, 1914–1918.



The Medal in silver is granted to the following classes, who either entered a theatre of war on duty, or who left their places of residence and rendered approved service overseas, other than the waters dividing the different parts of the United Kingdom, between August 5, 1914, and November 11, 1918, both dates inclusive :—

- (a) Officers, Warrant Officers, attested Non-Commissioned Officers, and men of the British, Dominion, Colonial, and Indian Military Forces.

- (b) Members of Women formations who have been enrolled under a direct contract of service for service with His Majesty's Imperial Forces.
- (c) All who served on staffs of military hospitals, and all members of recognized organizations who actually handled sick and wounded.
- (d) Members of duly recognized or authorized organizations.
- (e) Enrolled and attested followers on the establishment of Units of the Indian Army.

The Medal in bronze granted to all British subjects who were enrolled in native Labour Corps Units and who served in theatres of war.

*Ribbon*.—Centre, orange, watered, with stripes of white and black on each side, and with borders of Royal blue.

NAVAL WAR CLASPS.—QUALIFYING SERVICE AND CONDITIONS.  
BARS FOR ACTIONS AND MINE-SWEEPING.

The King has been pleased to approve of the award of Naval clasps to the British War Medal. The particular services for which clasps will be awarded are as follows :—

(A) *General Actions at Sea.*

Under this head the following clasps will be awarded :—

“ Heligoland, 28 Aug. 14.”—To Officers and men of ships actually engaged.

“ Falkland Islands, 8 Dec. 14.”—To Officers and men of all ships of Vice-Admiral Sir F. C. D. Sturdee's squadron, which left Port Stanley on December 8, 1914, with the intention of engaging the enemy, and to H.M.S. *Canopus*.

"Dogger Bank, 24 Jan. 15."—To all ships which took part in the action resulting in the sinking of the *Blücher*, January 24, 1915.

"Jutland, 31 May 16."—To Officers and men of ships and vessels named in the list attached to Admiral Sir John Jellicoe's despatch.

(B) *Single Ship Actions.*

Under this head the following clasps will be awarded :—

"*Cap Trafalgar*, 14 Sept. 14."—To Officers and men of H.M.S. *Carmania* present in the action.

"*Emden*, 9 Nov. 14."—To Officers and men of H.M.A.S. *Sydney* present in the action.

"*Königsberg*, July 15."—To Officers and men who served on board the *Severn* and *Mersey*, and in the aeroplanes, in the Rufigi River on July 6 and 11, 1915, in the operations resulting in the destruction of the *Königsberg*.

"*Leopard*, 16 March 17."—To Officers and men of *Achilles* and *Dundee* present in action.

"21 April 17."—To Officers and men of H.M.S. *Swift* and *Broke* present in the action.

(C) *Fighting at Sea in Particular Areas.*

Under this head the following clasps will be awarded :—

"North Sea, 1914," etc., up to 1918.

"Narrow Seas, 1914," etc., up to 1918.

"Home Seas, 1914," etc., up to 1918.

"Arctic, 1914," etc., up to 1918.

"Baltic, 1914," etc., up to 1918.

"Mediterranean, 1914," etc., up to 1918.

Final qualifying date November 11, 1918.

*Limits of Areas.*

## North Sea.

Southern Limit : A line drawn from Cromer to the Texel.

Eastern Limit : Up the coast of Holland, Germany, and Denmark, down the east coast of Denmark, across the northern exits to the Belts and Sound to the Swedish coast, north along the coasts of Sweden and Norway as far as the meridian of  $30^{\circ}$  E., and then true north along this meridian.

Western Limit : From Cromer up the east coast of England and Scotland to Cape Wrath, thence to a position in Lat.  $64^{\circ}$  N., Long.  $30^{\circ}$  W., thence true north.

## Narrow Seas.

Northern Limit : A line drawn from Cromer to the Texel.

Southern Limit : A line drawn from Dungeness to Boulogne (ships based on Boulogne will be included).

## Home Seas.

Eastern Limit : Line joining the Cape Spartel and Cape Trafalgar, thence west and north along the coasts of Spain and Portugal, the coast-line of Bay of Biscay, along the French coast to Boulogne, thence to Dungeness, thence along the south and west coasts of England and Scotland to Cape Wrath.

Northern Limit : From Cape Wrath to a position in Lat.  $64^{\circ}$  N., Long.  $30^{\circ}$  W.

Southern Limit : From Cape Spartel west, true to the meridian of  $30^{\circ}$  W.

Western Limit : The meridian of  $30^{\circ}$  W. as far as Lat.  $64^{\circ}$  N.

## Arctic.

Southern Limit : Along the parallel of  $60^{\circ}$  N. between the meridians of  $30^{\circ}$  E. and  $50^{\circ}$  E.

Eastern Limit : The meridian of  $50^{\circ}$  E.

Western Limit : The meridian of  $30^{\circ}$  E.



Baltic.

Within the Baltic, inside the northern exits to the Belts and Sound.

Mediterranean.

The whole Mediterranean within a line joining Cape Spartel and Cape Trafalgar, including the Black Sea, Sea of Marmora and the harbour of Port Said, but excluding the Suez Canal.

*Qualifying Service for "Area" or "Service" Clasps.*

- (a) One clasp to be given for each calendar year 1914-18.
- (b) Qualifying service to be one month for 1914, and three months for the other years. Service in *bona-fide* sea-going ships only to count. Service in depot ships and other vessels which occasionally go to sea from port to port not to be regarded as qualifying service.
- (c) Service within the calendar year need not be continuous.
- (d) Only one "Area" or "Service" clasp to be given for any one year. If an Officer or man qualifies in more than one area in any one year, he shall receive the clasp for the area in which he has served the longest.
- (e) In the case of any Officer or man who has been killed or mortally wounded in action, the clasp for that year will be granted irrespective of the length of service.

(D) *Special Services not Confined to Particular Areas.*

Under this head the following clasps will be awarded:—

"Mine-sweeping."—

- (a) To each rank and rating who formed one of the official crew of a vessel employed regularly as a mine-sweeper between August 4, 1914, and November 11, 1918, provided that the vessel formed one of a mine-sweeping unit which swept up enemy's moored mines when the applicant was present in that vessel.

- (b) To each rank and rating who formed one of the crew of a vessel temporarily employed on mine-sweeping for clearing or ensuring a passage in the Dardanelles.

*Note.*—Auxiliary Patrol and other vessels fitted for mine-sweeping who occasionally passed their sweeps in conjunction with their patrol duties not to be entitled to the “Mine-sweeping” clasp.

“Mine-laying.”—To Officers and men who made ten mine-laying trips within the undermentioned areas, including Officers and men serving in Submarine E.24 when that vessel was lost :—

1. Within the British Notified Area, *i.e.* the area comprising all the waters, except the Netherlands and Danish territorial waters, lying to the southward and eastward of a line commencing three miles from the coast of Jutland on the parallel of Lat.  $57^{\circ} 08' N.$ , and passing through the following positions :—

(1) Lat.  $57^{\circ} 08' N.$ , Long.  $6^{\circ} 00' E.$

(2) Lat.  $56^{\circ} 00' N.$ , Long.  $5^{\circ} 10' E.$

(3) Lat.  $54^{\circ} 45' N.$ , Long.  $4^{\circ} 17' E.$

(4) Lat.  $53^{\circ} 29' N.$ , Long.  $4^{\circ} 04' E.$

(5) Lat.  $53^{\circ} 00' N.$ , Long.  $4^{\circ} 10' E.$

thence along the parallel of Lat.  $53^{\circ} 00' N.$  to a position three miles from the Netherlands coast, thence to the northward and eastward, following the limits of Netherlands territorial waters.

2. Within 20 miles of the Belgian coast between Zeebrugge and Nieuport, also within a radius of 20 miles from (a) Zeebrugge Mole, (b) Nieuport Harbour.
3. Between lines drawn east true from the Skaw and Syr Point, Lasso Island, to the Swedish coast (Admiralty chart No. 2114).
4. Within 20 miles of the eastern shore of the Adriatic.
5. The area enclosed between the meridians of  $28^{\circ} 30' E.$  and  $25^{\circ} 45' E.$  and the parallels of  $36^{\circ} 50' N.$  and  $40^{\circ} 30' N.$

“ ‘ Q ’ Ships.”—To all Officers and men who served during the war in “ Q ” or “ Decoy ” Ships, employed on anti-submarine duties, and were in action in its widest sense with enemy submarines.

“ Submarines.”—To Officers and men who served in submarines for not less than 12 months during the war.

“ Baltic Submarines.”—To Officers and men who served in submarines in the Baltic within the limits for the Baltic shown under head (C).

“ Heligoland Bight Submarines.”—To Officers and men who operated in submarines in the Heligoland Bight within the British Notified Area (*see* Area 1, under “ Mine-laying ”).

“ Marmora Submarines.”—To Officers and men of all submarines who penetrated through into the Sea of Marmora and operated there between midnight, February 18–19, 1915, and January 8, 1916. The award to include Officers and men of Submarine B.11 which torpedoed the *Messudieh* on December 31, 1914, and Submarine E.15 which made the pioneer attempt, and grounded on Kephez Point in the Dardanelles on April 15, 1915.

*Note.*—The last three clasps are held in lieu of, and not in addition to, “ Submarines ” clasp. Officers and men of mine-laying submarines to be also eligible for “ Mine-laying ” clasp, in addition to any submarine clasps, under the conditions laid down above.

#### (E) *Actions with Enemy's Land Forces.*

Under this head the following clasps will be awarded :—

“ Belgian Coast.”—To Officers and men serving in ships which operated between August 4, 1914, and midnight, October 19–20, 1918 (the date of the enemy's evacuation), in an area within 20 miles of the Belgian coast between Zeebrugge and Nieuport ; also within a radius of 20 miles from (1) Zeebrugge Mole, (2) Nieuport Harbour.

*Note.*—The “ Belgian Coast ” clasp not to be awarded for the operations at Zeebrugge, April 23, 1918, and Ostend, April 23 and May 10, 1918 (*see* below).

"Dardanelles."—To Officers and men serving in H.M. ships which took part in the operations in the Dardanelles from midnight, February 18-19, 1915, to midnight, March 18-19, 1915. Those eligible shall be the Officers and men serving in the ships mentioned in the despatches of Vice-Admirals Carden and De Robeck, dated March 17, 1915, and March 26, 1915 (see *London Gazette*, No. 31322, 7th Supplement, April 29, 1919).

"Gallipoli Landing."—To all Naval ranks and ratings who left transports with a view to landing; to the Officers and crews of those small ships, vessels, and boats which worked in-shore or actually assisted in the disembarkation of troops; and to all ranks and ratings of the Royal Navy and Mercantile Marine on board the *River Clyde*, between midnight, April 24-25, and midnight, April 26-27, 1915. Off-shore covering vessels, transports, etc., not to be included. Transports for this purpose are held to mean all floating craft that carried troops.

"Gallipoli."—To Officers and men of all ships employed off the Gallipoli Peninsula within the area mentioned below from midnight, March 18-19, 1915, to the date of the final evacuation, January 8, 1916. Area: To the eastward of a line drawn from Yukyeri Point (Lat.  $39^{\circ} 50' 40''$  N., Long.  $26^{\circ} 9' 45''$  E., approx.) through a point in Lat.  $39^{\circ} 53' 0''$  N., Long.  $26^{\circ} 0' 0''$  E., thence direct to Cape Gremea (Lat.  $40^{\circ} 35' 0''$  N., Long.  $26^{\circ} 6' 0''$  E., approx.).

"Tsingtau."—To Officers and men of all ships employed off Tsingtau, during the operations resulting in its capture, north of Lat.  $35^{\circ} 30'$  N. and between the meridians of  $120^{\circ}$  and  $121^{\circ}$  E.

"Suez Canal."—To Officers and men of ships and vessels which took part in the engagement on February 2-4, 1915, resulting in the repulse of the Turkish attack, *i.e.* to ranks and ratings serving in ships which operated between a position two miles north of Kantara and the northern end of the Bitter Lakes.

"Zeebrugge, Ostend."—To Officers and men present in the ships and vessels named in Article 45 of Sir Roger Keyes' amended Despatch

of May 9, 1918, published in *London Gazette*, No. 31189, of February 19, 1919.

"Ostend, May 10, 1918."—To Officers and men present in the ships named in the Appendix to Sir Roger Keyes' Despatch dated June 15, 1918.

*(F) Operations in Connection with those on Land.*

Under this head the following clasps will be awarded :—

"Mesopotamia."—To all Naval Officers and men who served in the Persian Gulf within the Straits of Ormuz, from November 1, 1914, the date of Turkey's entry into the war, until noon, October 31, 1918.

"Red Sea."—To Officers and men of H.M. ships who were actually stationed in the Red Sea or the Suez Canal, north of and including Aden, and south of the Mediterranean, excluding the harbour of Port Said, between November 1, 1914, and noon on October 31, 1918. Ships proceeding through the Suez Canal or Red Sea on passage not to be included.

"German East Africa."—To Officers and men of H.M. ships employed off the coast and outlying islands of East Africa between Mombasa and Delagoa Bay, both inclusive, throughout the war; also to those Naval ranks and ratings serving on the African Lakes.

"German South-West Africa."—To Officers and men of H.M. ships employed on the coast of German South-West Africa between Luderitz Bay and Swakopmund between September 15, 1914, and July 9, 1915.

"Pacific Islands."—To all Naval Officers and men who took part in the following operations in 1914 :—New Britain, September 11–21; New Ireland, September 6–October 8; Kaiser Wilhelm Land, September 24; Admiralty Islands, November 21; Nauru, November 6; German Samoa, August 29.

"Cameroons."—To Officers and men of all H.M. ships, vessels, and boats, including the Nigerian Marine personnel, who were present

in the Cameroons waters and rivers between August 29, 1914, and January 31, 1916, inclusive.

(G) *Services in Serbia and Russia and Post-Armistice Operations.*

Under this head the following clasps will be awarded :—

“ North Russia, 1918-19.”—To all Naval ranks and ratings who served afloat or ashore in North Russia, within the area specified below, between midnight November 11-12, 1918, and October 12, 1919 :—Southern Limit : Along the parallel of 60° N. and between the meridians of 30° E. and 50° E. Eastern Limit : The meridian of 50° E. Western Limit : The meridian of 30° E.

“ Eastern Baltic, 1918-19.”—To all who served within the Gulf of Finland, and in the Baltic east of 20° E. between midnight, November 11-12, 1919, and midnight, December 31, 1919-January 1, 1920.

“ Mine Clearance, 1918-19.”—To Officers and men who actually signed a Mine Clearance Contract, and were accepted and employed under the terms M.O. 972/1919. Limiting dates and areas as follows :—

- (a) In home waters, including North Sea European littoral, between November 11, 1918, and midnight, September 30-October 1, 1919.
- (b) Within the Mediterranean, between November 11, 1918, and midnight, November 30-December 1, 1919.
- (c) Within the Baltic, between November 11, 1918, and midnight, November 30-December 1, 1919.
- (d) In other foreign areas where British vessels have carried out mine clearance between November 11, 1918, and midnight, July 31-August 1, 1919.

“ Serbia.”—To all those in the Naval Contingent and in the attached Hospital, serving under the orders of Rear-Admiral Sir



E. C. T. Troubridge during the defence of Belgrade, and the subsequent retreat through Serbia across the Albanian frontier to the sea, between December 14, 1914, and January 1, 1916.

“Siberia, 1918-19.”—(a) To the Naval personnel of the British Naval Mission in Siberia under Commander J. Wolfe Murray, up till September 13, 1919. (b) To the personnel of the Naval Detachment who were employed on the Kama River, Siberia, up to June 28, 1919.

“Russia.”—(a) To the Naval ranks and ratings who were employed with the Armoured Cars serving with the Russian Forces up to November 11, 1918. (b) To members of the Naval Mission who were serving in South Russia 1919-20, up to midnight, July 1-2, 1920.

(The “Serbia,” “Siberia,” and “Russia” clasps will not be awarded to those who are eligible for another clasp for the same service.)

“Black Sea, 1918-20.”—To Officers and men serving on board H.M. ships and vessels which operated in the Black Sea or in the Bosphorus within the line joining Stefano Point and Farnar Burnu (at the Sea of Marmora exit from the Bosphorus), from November 11, 1918, to September 4, 1920. (This clasp is not to be held in addition to the clasp for “Russia” by members of the Naval Mission mentioned in paragraph (b) “Russia,” above.)

“Caspian.”—To all Naval Officers and men who were employed in the Caspian Sea, or on the shores thereof, between July, 1918, and August 27, 1919.

Except where otherwise stated, the period of qualifying service for all clasps definitely ends on November 11, 1918.

The clasps earned by Officers and men deceased will be issued to their legatees or next-of-kin entitled to receive them. A further announcement as to the issue of the Clasps will be made in due course, and no applications should be made pending such notification.



## ARMY CLASPS.

The issue of Army Clasps has not yet (1927) taken place.

## ADMIRALTY BADGE FOR MERITORIOUS WORK IN MINE-SWEEPING OPERATIONS.

*Metal Pierced Badge.*—In the centre a floating mine below the surface of the sea within an ornamented circle crowned between two



laurel branches and tied with ribbon ; below, a ribbon inscribed " Mine Clearance Service."

## THE VICTORY MEDAL.

This Medal is granted to all Officers and men who have left their native shores in any part of the British Empire and entered a theatre of war.

This Medal obviates the interchange of medals between the Associated Powers, and therefore no one will be permitted to accept a Foreign War Medal of any description.

This Medal will be granted to the next-of-kin of all who fell in the war. It is round (36 millimetres in width), and made of bronze.

Mr. William McMillan won the £500 prize for the best design, given by the War Office.

An oak-leaf emblem, denoting that the bearer has been mentioned in despatches, will be issued in two sizes, the larger to be worn with the Medal and the smaller in service dress, across the ribbon.



“Military Notes,” *R.U.S.I. Journal*, August, 1919, p. 547, says :  
“Ribbon is to have an orange centre with white, black, and blue stripes on either side. For general service.”

The ribbon for the Victory Medal will be identical for all the countries, and will consist of two rainbows joined by the red in the centre.

Obverse :—A winged figure of Victory, full-length, in the middle of the Medal, and full face, the borders and the background plain, without either inscription or date.

Reverse :—An inscription, “ The Great War for Civilisation 1914–1919,” translated into the different languages, and either the names of the different Allied and Associated Powers or their Coats of Arms.

The rim is plain.

The British medal is as illustrated on p. 269, with name, etc., stamped on the rim.

#### PRECEDENCE OF MEDALS.

The 1914 Star.

The 1914–15 Star.

The British War Medal.

The Mercantile Marine War Medal.

The Victory Medal.

#### MERCANTILE MARINE WAR MEDALS FOR THE MERCANTILE MARINE.

The King has granted the *British War Medal* to the British, Dominion, Colonial, and Indian Mercantile Marine.

In the United Kingdom, the medal, in silver, is given to those who can supply such evidence as may be approved by the Board of Trade of having served at sea for not less than six months between August 4, 1914, and November 11, 1918, inclusive; and those entitled to receive it will include licensed pilots, fishermen, and crews of pilotage and lighthouse authorities, vessels, and of Post Office cable ships.

In other parts of the Empire the qualifying service will be the same, but all details will be determined by the several Governments.

The King has also granted a *Mercantile Marine War Medal* to the persons specified in the previous paragraph who are qualified for the British War Medal, and who, in addition, can supply such evidence as may be approved by the authorities referred to in that paragraph, of having served at sea on at least one voyage through a danger-zone. For this purpose a danger-zone means :—

- (a) A voyage on a ship which entered or cleared a United Kingdom port, or a French port, or a Mediterranean port;

- (b) Such other voyages in other parts of the world as shall be specified in a further notice.

The *Mercantile Marine War Medal* is in bronze.

Obverse:—Head of the King and legend, “Georgivs V Britt: Omn: Rex et Ind: Imp:”

Reverse:—Two Merchant Vessels. Exergue: “For War Service Mercantile Marine 1914-1918,” the whole within a laurel wreath.

*Ribbon.*—Green and red, arranged vertically, with a narrow white line between the bands.



Officers, men, and women referred to in this announcement who, whilst serving at sea, were captured by the enemy or lost their lives through enemy action, or were precluded by disablement through enemy action from further service at sea before being able to complete their qualifying service for one or both of the Medals, will be deemed to have qualified.

The Medals earned by deceased Officers, men, and women will be issued to their legatees or next-of-kin entitled to receive them.

#### TERRITORIAL WAR MEDAL RIBBON.

July 26, 1920.—It is officially announced that the King has approved the design of the ribbon for this Medal, and that the ribbon is now being made. The ribbon will be made of yellow watered-silk, with two green stripes  $\frac{3}{16}$  inch in width, and each placed  $\frac{3}{16}$  inch from the edge of the ribbon.



*Territorial War Medal.*—Bright bronze.

Obverse :—Head of the King and legend as on the General Service Medal.

Reverse :—" For Voluntary Service Overseas 1914-19," within a laurel wreath, and " Territorial War Medal."

## AMERICAN MEDALS.

### THE AMERICAN DISTINGUISHED SERVICE MEDAL.

*In Bronze—*

Obverse :—The American Eagle with a shield on the breast with “ stripes,” a circle with “ stars ” above the head, inscription, in a circle of dark-blue enamel, “ For Distinguished Service 1918.”

Reverse :—A trophy with shield in centre, two flags on either side, a palm branch on right and left at the foot.

*Ribbon.*—Ribbed silk, white centre, a thin dark-blue band on either side ; outside a red band half the width of the white centre.

### THE MEDAL OF HONOR (MILITARY).

First authorized by Congress in 1861. In 1904 the present design (gold) was adopted, namely, the Head of Minerva with the inscription “ United States of America ” in a five-pointed Star surmounted with a bar inscribed “ Valor ” ; above is an Eagle with spread wings, with ring for suspension.

*Ribbon.*—Blue, with thirteen stars.

### GIVEN TO AMERICANS ONLY.

*Naval.*—Gold Maltese Cross with anchor in each arm ; between the arms a laurel wreath ; in centre an Eagle ; inscription round, “ United States Navy 1917-1918.” Ring, with bar inscribed “ Valor.”

*Ribbon.*—Blue, with thirteen Stars.

### NAVY CROSS.

Bronze Cross, with crossed anchors, in centre U.S.N., a leaf between the arms of the Cross.

*Ribbon.*—Dark-blue, with narrow white band in centre.

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*Note.*—I am much indebted to our member Charles Winter, Esq., for his kind assistance in revising this paper.










ARNOLD TOKENS



SOUTH NOTTS. YEOMANRY MEDAL

## ARNOLD VILLAGE TOKENS.

BY F. E. BURTON, J.P.

ARNOLD is an old village situated about four miles from the centre of the City of Nottingham on the main road to Mansfield. It is now incorporated within the city boundaries. Possibly this village is more famous as being the birthplace of Richard Parkes Bonnington than for the issue of its tokens.

Davis quotes what Boyne says, "that the Arnold Works are said to be a mill for spinning wool at the Qean, Nottingham." This is not correct. The tokens were issued by Messrs. Robert Davison and John Hawksley of Arnold. Both belonged to old Nottingham families ; they were important business men and well-known philanthropists. Mr. Hawksley was presented with the freedom of the town of Nottingham.

The Hawksleys were maltsters, the Davisons hosiery manufacturers. Mr. Davison gave up the hosiery business and joined Mr. Hawksley in building a factory near the River Leen, Nottingham, for worsted spinning ; this factory was burned down in January, 1791. As far as I know, no tokens are in existence issued from there. It was after the destruction of these works that the firm at once commenced building new ones at Arnold. These works were running before the end of the year ; they were situated near the site of Arnot Hill House, in which Mr. Hawksley lived. This new factory employed about 1,000 male hands—a very large number of employees for those days to be engaged in one building ; they consisted of about 400 adults and 600 apprentices. The apprentices were mostly very young boys secured from the workhouses of London, Bristol and other large

towns. These boy apprentices were overworked and badly fed, and housed in overcrowded rooms which caused terrible mortality amongst them ; in fact, it was no uncommon thing to find six or seven deaths weekly. For some years this mill prospered, but in 1811 it was closed, owing to the depression prevailing in the worsted trade. No tenant being found for the mill, it was allowed to go to decay and was eventually completely demolished.

The tokens are of the value of 5s., 2s. 6d., 1s., and 6d. The reading on all is identical, with the exception of their respective monetary values, and all are of copper, some being silver-plated, others gilt.

The reading :—

Obverse :—Davison and Hawksley, and a fleece suspended from a tree.

Reverse :—The Roman Fasces with the axe, spear and a cap of liberty in saltire, Arnold Works, a crown, 1791.

## SOUTH NOTTS YEOMANRY MEDALS.

BY FRANK E. BURTON, J.P.

**H**AVE much pleasure in exhibiting the medals, two original parchment rolls, badge, two helmets and a pair of epaulettes of the South Notts Yeomanry.

The South Notts Yeomanry Cavalry, like many other volunteer regiments of Cavalry, was raised during the Napoleonic scare. On June 10, 1794, at a general meeting of the County of Nottingham, held at the Moot Hall, Mansfield, to consider plans recommended by the Government for the internal defence of the kingdom, the following resolutions were proposed and unanimously agreed to :—

1. That in the present crisis it is very desirable to increase the internal force of the county, under the sanction of Parliament, by a voluntary subscription.
2. That the mode which appears most adapted to the situation and circumstances of this county is that of raising a Corps of Cavalry, comprised of Yeomen, agreeable to the plan suggested by the Government to the Lords-Lieutenant of the several counties.
3. That a subscription be opened for the above-mentioned purposes, and that subscriptions be received at the different banking houses of the county.

The money subscribed on this occasion amounted to the sum of £8,549 1s. *od.*, a very large sum indeed for those times.

Four troops were raised in Notts, and it is to the South Notts troop that these relics belong.

The first captain in command of this troop was Ichabod Wright, a member of an old banking family in Nottingham, and you will see from the original parchment roll of the troop that he was still in command in 1806, when the troop numbered 73, including the Rifle Corps.

Although only raised in 1794, their services were soon requisitioned, as the following account from the *Nottingham Journal* plainly shows :—

*April 25, 1795.*

“ Saturday evening last, a riot in Nottingham, on account of the present high price of all kinds of food. Riot Act read ; the Chief Magistrate requested the assistance of the Troop of Gentlemen Yeomanry, who at once assembled on parade in the Market Place, and by their diligent exertions for nearly 4 hours the tranquillity of the town was restored.”

Although the Yeomanry did most valuable and important service during the riots, I find from contemporary reports in the local papers that, when they were called up, they never failed to enjoy themselves whenever the opportunity occurred after their military services were over, as the following extract from the *Nottingham Journal* of July 18, 1795, on the occasion of the presentation of their colours, will amply demonstrate :—

“ Tuesday last the 4 troops of Notts Yeomanry Cavalry comprising Nottingham, Newark, Retford and Mansfield met at this place to receive their colours.

“ About 10 o'clock the troops took their ground in Sneinton Fields, from whence they rode in regular military procession to the Market Place, and forming a square in front of the Exchange Hall, the windows of which being elegantly filled by ladies of the first rank and fashion.

“ The sight became truly enchanting. An escort being detached to attend the standards, they were handed from the

windows to Charles Pierrepont, Esq., M.P., and Thomas Webb's Edge, Esq., who, accompanied by the Rev. Charles Eyre as Chaplain, advanced to the centre of the regiment, where they were met by Colonel Eyre, to whom Mr. Pierrepont presented the Royal Standard, on the part of Mrs. Lumley Smith.

"Mr. Edge then presented the Provincial Standard on behalf of Lady Warren, and the Chaplain then proceeded to consecrate the colours. About half-past three in the afternoon they repaired to a splendid dinner prepared for them at Thurland Hall. Towards evening many of the Company retired to dress for the Assembly, which was very brilliant, and where the seductive blandishments of lovely women made ample recompense for the toils of martial glory.

"With beauty and elegance the Assembly Rooms were never so much honoured in celebrity and mirth, the time was never so happily spent. In fact, the Town was one continued scene of bustle and parade.

"The fireworks commenced about 10 o'clock and ended at midnight in the Market Place."

(I have here two old prints of Thurland Hall, where these meetings were held—one as it was in the fifteenth century, the other of what remained of it in 1750. It is now totally demolished.)

On May 13, 1802, the Nottingham Troop of Gentlemen Yeomanry Cavalry, commanded by Captain Wright, assembled previous to their disembodiment. A sumptuous dinner was provided, of which 100 gentlemen partook and joined in the convivialities usual on such occasions. An elegant piece of plate was presented to their captain as a testimony of their gratitude to him for his politeness and attention to the Corps, 20 guineas to the sergeant and 5 guineas to the trumpeter. Lord Newark presented honorary medals to the whole Corps, "in commemoration of their important services." Those of the commissioned officers were of gold, and those of the non-commissioned officers and privates were of silver. The obverse on the medal is GEORGIUS III REX, the king's profile, and the date



1802. This profile of the king is similar to the one on the coinage of the period, and doubtless was struck at the Royal Mint. On the reverse, NOTTS YEOMANRY, a representation of the famous Greendale oak, which is still to be seen in Sherwood Forest, and the inscription FOI LOI ROI (Faith, Law, King).

It is curious that the name on the medal and the helmet should be Notts Yeomanry, although the title of the regiment is South Notts Yeomanry and you have on the badge S.N.Y. (South Notts Yeomanry), and this title is still used by the War Office, but locally the regiment has always been known as the South Notts Hussars.

Of these medals I only know of *three* ; one is in my possession ; one belongs to Colonel Leslie Birkin, D.S.O., a member of this Society ; and one is in the possession of the Hadden family, Alexander Hadden being an officer when the regiment was raised.

The two original parchment rolls, dated 1806 and 1820 respectively, are interesting from two points of view :—Firstly, in the short *History of the South Notts Yeomanry*, written in 1891 by Major George Fellows, the first muster-roll published is 1828. Secondly, in the one dated 1806, the Company is described as “ The Nottingham Troop of Yeomanry Cavalry ” ; in the order dated 1820, the Company is described as “ The Loyal Troop of Nottingham Cavalry.”

The officer's badge is *circa* 1800. The helmet with the plumes missing is of the same date. The helmet with the plumes is *circa* 1820. The epaulettes are *circa* 1830.

The Nottingham Company was disbanded in 1802, but was again called up in 1803, and has been in existence ever since, being mobilized annually for drill. A large body of the regiment served all through the Boer War ; in the Great War they served in Gallipoli, Salonika, Egypt and Palestine.

# GOLD AND SILVER MEDALS OF THE HONOURABLE EAST INDIA COMPANY.

BY C. WINTER.

**T**HE medal commonly known as the "Deccan" was issued to native troops only, and is the earliest Anglo-Indian decoration granted to all ranks.

The troubles in the west of India, Guzerat and the Carnatic caused Warren Hastings, at the request of the Bombay Presidency, to despatch two native detachments of the Bengal Army. These detachments were known as the Bombay and Carnatic detachments. The former's services spread over a period of years from 1778 to 1784, and those of the latter, in the south of India, from 1780 to 1784.



OBVERSE OF THE DECCAN MEDAL.

The authority for the grant of a medal to the Bombay detachment will be found in a minute of the Governor-General and Council of January 19, 1784, where it is stated that "each subadar should be awarded a gold medal, each jemadar a silver one, and that similar badges of inferior value should be given to the non-warrant officers and sepoys." The grant of medals to those who served with the Carnatic detachment is a minute dated January 22, 1785, twelve

months later than the grant to the Bombay troops. A subsequent minute of January 28, 1785, extended the grant to the Artillery Lascars. Messrs. Young and Shepperd, of Calcutta, were instructed to prepare the dies and strike gold and silver medals. Mayo, in his *Medals and Decorations*, states that the choice of a design was left to the Commander-in-Chief. The dies were made by Mr. Shepperd at a cost of 600 rupees, and as Mayo mentions Mr. Shepperd as being the maker of the dies, and not the firm, I presume that he was the die-sinker, but no name or initials appear on the medals to indicate either designer or die-sinker.

The two specimens exhibited to the members were those of the silver issues, the larger one being  $1\frac{9}{32}$  in. diameter and the smaller one  $1\frac{8}{32}$  in. diameter. The obverse of the medal depicts Britannia seated on a military trophy consisting of a drum, spears, a flag, two cannon, a sword, and three cannon balls; in her right hand she holds out a wreath towards a distant fort in the background; in her left hand rests her spear, and at her right side the Union shield. There is a slight difference between the two designs in the number of cannon balls. The design on the whole is somewhat pleasing, but of no particular artistic merit. The reverse consists only of a long Persian inscription. Tancred, in his *Historical Record of Medals*, gives the translation as follows: "The courage and exertions of those valiant men by whom the name of Englishmen has been celebrated and exalted from Hindostan to the Deccan having been established throughout the world, this has been granted by the Government of Calcutta, in commemoration of the excellent services of the brave; year of the Hegira 1199, A.D. 1784. As coins are current in the world, so shall be the bravery and exploits of those heroes by whom the name of the victorious English nation was carried from Bengal to the Deccan." This translation differs from the one given by Mayo, which reads: "Presented by the Calcutta Government in memory of good service and intrepid valour, A.D. 1784, A.H. 1199. Like this coin may it endure in the world, and the exertions of those lion-hearted Englishmen of great name, victorious from Hindostan to the Deccan, become exalted." Tancred's translation is most

flattering to the English, and speaks of their exploits circulating as a current coin in the world, whilst Mayo somewhat impairs the dignity of the award as being for martial prowess when he says : “ Like this coin may it endure.” Which is the correct translation I must leave to those versed in the language.

According to a letter sent to the Commander-in-Chief and read before the Council, Messrs. Young and Shepperd found that they were not able to strike the medals, as they thought, from one stroke of a hammer, and had to seek permission to double the price estimated for striking to allow of their procuring a press for stamping the medals. The following is a copy of the letter addressed to General Stibbert :—

“ SIR,—Herewith we send you as a specimen a Gold and Silver Medal, and find it necessary to observe to you that the Dyes from which they were struck, will, in striking off 50 or 60, be totally spoiled. All this I was a stranger to when first I undertook to make them, thinking from the extraordinary softness of the Gold and Silver in this country, that they might with ease be struck up, with one blow of an hammer, but to my very great disappointment, they take a dozen at least, besides passing them through the fire as many times before the impression appears decent. As there are numbers of them to do, I find it impossible to complete them without the assistance of a large Mint Press, which we can get made here under our directions should it please you to enable us to pay the expense, by allowing one Rupee each for striking them off, independent of the Gold and Silver which may be worked up in the quantity required. I will be answerable that one pair of Dyes shall complete the whole provided they are struck up by Press—otherwise if an accident should happen in striking them with an hammer as before mentioned of breaking the Dyes, it would be attended not only with a double expense in sinking them again, but would be a great disappointment to you.

“ We are, etc.,

“ YOUNG AND SHEPPERD.”

Possibly the firm was in the habit of striking hollow work or small solid pieces, and had overlooked the great resistance that would arise in an apparently small increase of diameter of the blank.

By way of illustration, the large bronze medal exhibited, which is 5 in. in diameter, was struck under a 6-in. hand screw-press, and took 300 blows of a screw pressure of about 30 tons. A 4-in. medal, struck from similar metal under an 8-in. screw power-press of about 60 tons pressure, took 40 blows, the great increase in the number of blows being caused by the 1 in. difference in diameter of the medals. The term "hammer," I presume, in the case of Messrs. Young and Shepperd, was not a drop-hammer, otherwise I do not understand the difficulty which they mention. Both Tancred and Mayo seem to think that it was the intention of the authorities to issue a second design for the Carnatic detachment, but at the same time both produce proof that the one design was used for all the troops.

The gold medals granted to the subadars are exceedingly rare ; in fact, I have only seen one gold specimen during the past thirty-five years, which came into the possession of Messrs. Spink when they purchased the Philp Collection. The large silver specimen exhibited is in very fine condition, and is rarely met with. Specimens of the smaller one are to be found in most collections.

Mayo gives the following extract from the *Bengal General Consultations*, 1785, p. 505, and *Military Consultations*, 1785, p. 228 :—

" Ordered that the Military Paymaster-General do advance to the Commander-in-Chief, the sum of 20,000 Rupees, for the purpose of preparing the honorary medals ordered to the Troops late serving in the Carnatic : and to create a proper distinction between the Jemadars and the inferior Officers and Privates, the Medals of the former are directed to be gilt."

From this it would appear that some of the silver medals granted to jemadars were to be gilt for the purpose of making a distinction, which is somewhat strange, as the medals, being of the larger size, would have the appearance of being gold, such as issued to the subadars. If it was the intention to gild the smaller ones, the



distinction would be simple. I have never seen or heard of a gilt specimen, and query if this order was carried through.

### EGYPT, 1801.

A force under the command of General Baird was despatched from India to assist in expelling the French from Egypt, and left Bombay on April 6, 1801, arriving too late to take any part in the



EGYPT, 1801.

fighting, the French having surrendered before they arrived. After spending about twelve months in Egypt, Baird and his troops returned home, and were received with great respect, every honour being paid them. A General Order dated at Fort Williams, July 31, 1802, states :—

“ Major-General Baird, commanding the forces employed in the late expedition from India to Egypt, arrived this day at the Presidency, attended by the Governor-General’s state boats, and was received on his landing at Chaundpaul Ghaut by the officers of His Excellency’s staff. The Governor-General in Council derived sincere satisfaction from the highly honourable testimony borne by Major-General the Earl of Cavan to the services of Major-General Baird, and of the troops from the

establishment of India lately employed in Egypt. Under a grateful impression of the important aid derived to the common cause of our country by the able and successful conduct of the expedition from India to Egypt, His Excellency is pleased to order that Honorary Medals be conferred on all the native non-commissioned officers, troops and Sepoys, Golundauze and Gun-Lascars, who have been employed on service in Egypt."

The gold medal exhibited is  $1\frac{3}{4}$  in. in diameter, and weighs 1.850 oz. including the loop. Only 16 gold medals were issued, and 2,199 silver ones. The troops were drawn partly from the Bombay Presidency, for whom silver medals were prepared to the number of 1,439 of all ranks, and also from Bengal, for whom 776 medals were struck including 16 gold. It will be noticed "that the Bombay troops received no gold medals, and some confusion seems to have arisen, and the Seringapatam medal, which is similar in size, was first prepared both for Egypt and the expedition to the Isle of France, but afterwards cancelled and a distinctive design adopted in both cases. *Obverse*: A sepoy holding the Union Jack in his right hand, with a camp in the background; exergue, a Persian inscription, of which Tancred gives the following translation: "This medal has been presented in commemoration of the defeat of the French armies in the kingdom of Egypt by the great bravery and ability of the victorious army of England." *Reverse*: A man-of-war in full sail with an obelisk and pyramids in the background; exergue, MDCCCI. These gold medals are extremely rare and seldom met with, whilst the silver ones are often to be seen in collections.

#### EXPEDITION TO RODRIGUES, BOURBON AND THE ISLE OF FRANCE, 1810.

On July 8, 1810, the troops under General Abercrombie attacked the island of Bourbon, which, after a slight resistance, fell into our hands. Being reinforced by troops from Bombay and the Cape, the Isle of France was assailed, and on December 3, 1810, Port St. Louis surrendered to the British Army and the Isle of France became a



British possession and reverted to its old Dutch name of Mauritius. Forty-five gold medals with loops and 2,156 silver ones were granted, which, according to Mayo and the Calcutta Mint accounts, were only issued to the Bengal troops. *Obverse*: A sepoy resting his left foot on a French standard; in his right hand he holds a Union Jack and in his left a musket with fixed bayonet. At his side is a cannon, and a view of shipping in the background. *Reverse*: A



OBVERSE OF THE RODRIGUES, BOURBON, AND ISLE OF FRANCE, MEDAL.

band inscribed RODRIGUES, VI JULY MDCCCX; BOURBON, VIII JULY AND ISLE OF FRANCE, III DEC. MDCCCX. In the centre a Persian inscription within a laurel wreath, of which Tancred gives the following translation: "This Medal was conferred in commemoration of the bravery and accustomed fidelity exhibited by the Sepoys of the English company in the capture of the Mauritius Islands, in the year of the Hegira 1225." The dies were prepared by the Calcutta Mint, and are still preserved by them.



PROCEEDINGS  
OF THE  
BRITISH NUMISMATIC SOCIETY  
SESSIONS 1923 AND 1924.



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SESSION 1923.

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1921. FREDERICK A. WALTERS, F.S.A.  
1922. J. SANFORD SALTUS—*till June 22nd.*  
1922. GRANT R. FRANCIS—*from June 28th.*  
1923. GRANT R. FRANCIS.
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### The John Sanford Saltus Gold Medal.

This Medal is awarded by ballot of all the Members triennially "to the Member of the Society whose paper or papers appearing in the Society's publications shall receive the highest number of votes from the Members, as being in their opinion the best in the interests of numismatic science."

The Medal was founded by the late John Sanford Saltus, Officier de la Légion d'Honneur, of New York, a Vice-President of the Society, by the gift of £200 in the year 1910; and so that the triennial periods should be computed from the inauguration of the Society, the Rules provided that the Medal should be awarded in the years 1910 and 1911, and thenceforward triennially.

#### MEDALLISTS.

1910. P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton, D.L., F.S.A.  
1911. Miss Helen Farquhar.  
1914. W. J. Andrew, F.S.A.  
1917. L. A. Lawrence, F.S.A.  
1920. Lieut.-Colonel H. W. Morrieson, F.S.A.





# The British Numismatic Society.

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## PROCEEDINGS

1923.

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### ORDINARY MEETING.

*Wednesday, January 24th, 1923.*

MR. GRANT R. FRANCIS, *President, in the Chair.*

Miss D. H. Andrews and Mr. A. H. F. Baldwin were elected Members.

The President read a letter from Mrs. Robert J. Campbell, of New York, in reply to the resolutions passed at the October and Anniversary Meetings.

He announced that Mr. Ernest H. Wheeler had given a hundred pounds to the Society towards the cost of Volume XVI of *The British Numismatic Journal*, which would be due at the next Anniversary Meeting. This was the third gift of the same generous amount made by Mr. Wheeler in recent years, and it was his pleasure to convey to him the special thanks of the Society as expressed by resolution of the Council on behalf of the Members.

*Presentation to the Library.*

*Royal Charities.*—Angels and Touchpieces for the King's Evil.<sup>1</sup>  
Bound copy, by the Authoress, Miss Helen Farquhar.

*Exhibitions.*

By Mr. H. Alexander Parsons :—Ethelred II. Penny struck from the obverse die of the so-called Irish type muled with the reverse of the small-cross type. For the purpose an ordinary penny of the Irish type had been re-used as the flan, and the outstanding headdress of its original obverse was still visible on the reverse of the re-issued coin. This remarkable combination of a muled and re-struck Anglo-Saxon coin would be a factor of importance in determining the argument as to the cause or object of such issues. Mr. Parsons exhibited also the usual examples of both types for comparison.

By Mr. Walter Lewis Pocock :—An episcopal seal-matrix of the Greek Church bearing the name Theodoros ; sixteenth century.

*Paper.*

## METHODS OF MEDIÆVAL DIE-SINKERS.

Mr. L. A. Lawrence gave an address, with illustrations on the blackboard, upon the various errors found on our money. He defined such an error as something that appears on the coin which was not intended to be there by those who had the supervision of the coinage.

Retrograde stycas, he said, were an example in which it would have been just as easy for the die-sinkers, skilled as we know they were, to have placed the letters correctly. Modern research and enquiry were gradually explaining away many of such "errors,"

<sup>1</sup> Reprinted from *The British Numismatic Journal*, xii, 39-135 ; xiii, 95-163 ; xiv, 89-120 ; xv, 141-184.

and in this relation he would specially instance the remarkable, yet convincing attributions by Major Carlyon-Britton of the coins of the Welsh Princes Howel and Llewelyn ; and the recent explanation of the " flag " type of Stephen by Mr. Andrew. These coins had previously been classed as blundered or unintelligible.

The spelling **CANTEBARD**, for Canterbury, on coins of class VII of the short-cross series had been classed as an error, but he was loth to accept that explanation, for if an error why did it occur on seven different dies ? The spellings **EDVARD**, **EDWARD**, **LONDON**, **ERKNA**, too, all occurred on several dies, and the initial letter of the last could not have been punched with any normal iron. Words such as **HERIA** on coins of Henry VII and Henry VIII and **ERK'GA** on a groat of the latter proved by their marks of contraction that the die-sinker was well aware of his own irregularity.

Finally, Mr. Lawrence demurred to any suggestion that the transposed legends on the half-sovereigns and testoons of Edward VI could have been due to accident or blunder, because of the number of different dies by which they had been represented.

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## ORDINARY MEETING.

*Wednesday, February 28th, 1923.*

MR. GRANT R. FRANCIS, *President, in the Chair.*

Mr. John Best was elected a Member.

### *Presentation.*

By Mr. W. J. Davis :—Proof in silver of his private token issued in 1922.

*Exhibitions in Illustration of the Papers.*

By Mr. Charles Winter :—Mary Tudor. Sovereign of 1553, with mint mark pomegranate ; the earliest dated gold coin of the English series.

Elizabeth. Ryal, with mint-mark escallop, showing the figure of the Queen in the ship. Sovereign with the mint-mark key re-punched over the woolpack. Milled half-sovereign with mint-mark fleur-de-lys.

Comment was made on the beauty of this exhibition.

By Miss Helen Farquhar :—Charles I. A diamond-shaped piece of silver, weighing 29·3 grains, stamped on the obverse with the King's head, and the value, seemingly VI, behind it ; and on the reverse with the square shield of arms as on the fourth Tower coinage. Miss Farquhar said that the late Mr. F. Willson Yeates believed that this coin was a light sixpence of the series issued by the Confederated Catholics at Kilkenny in October, 1642, for the weight was very nearly half that of the shilling of 61 grains, which she also exhibited, illustrated as Plate I, Fig. 4, and described by him on pages 193–194 of Volume XV of the *Journal*.

A York threepence of the same reign, which she explained as octagonal in shape bearing both the obverse and reverse impressions, whereas Ruding as Sup. Plate V, No. 8, illustrates a reverse only on a square flan, with the suggestion : “ If this were ever current, probably it was for a groat.” The threepence exhibited reads AVSPCE as on the last type mentioned by Hawkins, and on the obverse MA · BR · F · E · H · REX, which also corresponds with the normal coin in the British Museum, quoted by him. Ruding's coin of the square flan reads AVSPICE, and although no weight is given, its larger size explains the suggestion that it was a groat ; but more probably it was a trial piece on a large square flan. The threepence weighs

23½ grains or 2½ more than the usual York issue, but the extra silver at the corners would explain this ; and it, also, is probably a trial piece. We must, however, not forget that a threepence then, if of full weight, ought to weigh 23¼ grains.

By Mr. Lionel L. Fletcher :—Two copper coins, believed to be Irish money of necessity, of the period 1641–52. The device of the dove on the obverse of the larger piece so closely resembled the Holy Dove on the seal of the Confederate Catholics, illustrated by the late Mr. Yeates on page 190 of his paper, that their relation seemed to be self-evident. 1. Obverse, a dove, radiated, descending with extended wings ; reverse, the letter B. 2. Obverse, a castle ; reverse, N.B.

#### *General Exhibitions.*

By Mr. F. A. Walters :—A denarius of Constantius Chlorus, and another of Galerius Maximianus, both with the same reverse design, a Roman walled camp. Mr. Walters said that he exhibited these coins because he had been asked to give his opinion upon the reports, which had recently appeared in the newspapers, of the discovery at Arras of a hoard of Roman gold coins of large size, one of which was supposed to represent the Emperor Constantius Chlorus on horseback entering London, the city being shown behind him with its river, bridge, walls, and towers. There were a few gold coins known of large size of Constantine the Great struck at Treves, which on the reverse depicted that city with its walls and towers, and the bridge, crossing the river Moselle, in the foreground ; but as the Arras pieces were said to weigh an ounce and three-quarters each, they were far larger than these rare coins of Treves, and probably were medallions. Nevertheless, in default of some inscription definitely proving that London was intended, he inclined to the view that the coin in question was a medallion of Treves.

By Mr. Edmund Parsons, of Andover :—A first brass coin of the Emperor Antoninus Pius of the type representing Italia seated on a globe ; the letters S. C. in the field, and ITALIA in the exergue ; a type not often found in this country, although it occurred in the Croydon hoard of 1905. The reverse design rather closely resembles Hadrian's presentment of BRITANNIA, the prototype of our copper coinage. Found by Mr. Beale in excavating for foundations in Anton Road, Andover.

By Mr. W. J. Andrew :—Silver penny of Canute of the Leicester mint, Hawkins type 213, + LNV T R · EX ꝥ ; reverse, + ꝥLANC ðEĠEN O LEHR ; to illustrate the curious name of the moneyer, which occurs also at Canterbury in the same reign. This was long before the time of surnames, and whether read as one Christian name, or two, it is *Wlanc thegen*, Anglo-Saxon for "Noble thane."

By Mr. H. W. Taffs :—Penny of William I, Hawkins 234, reverse, \* GOD ON ðEOTEORI, Thetford, the E in the mint name being an error for F and the I an unfinished D, due to want of space. The moneyer's name is probably a contraction of Godwine.

By Mr. V. B. Crowther-Beynon :—A seventeenth-century token ; obverse, RICHARD HILL × × ×, — HIS HALF PENY ; reverse, OF CVLDECOATE\*, — R H 1668. There were nine parishes, he said, named Caldecote, variously spelt, but no tokens were credited to any of them in *Williamson*. This, however, was ploughed up at Empingham within ten miles of Caldecote in Rutlandshire, where the Hill family was well known in the seventeenth century. The registers recorded that Richard Hill, son of William and Bridget Hill, was baptised in 1627 and died in 1672. William



Hill became Churchwarden, and his initials with the date, 1648, occurred on a tablet in the Church porch. The attribution, therefore, seemed certain.

By Mr. A. E. Bagnall :—Charles I. Shilling with mint-mark triangle struck over the prostrate anchor of the Tower mint ; and threepence of Aberystwith with mint-mark open book.

Charles II. A good example of the pattern halfpenny with legend QVATVOR · MARIA · VINDICO.

### *Papers.*

#### A HOARD OF FRENCH AND ENGLISH COINS FOUND AT BOULOGNE.

Dr. Dutertre, President of the Société Académique of Boulogne, and a Member of this Society, contributed an account of the discovery at the close of 1922 of a hoard of French and English coins in Boulogne. It was, he said, almost a hundred years since a find of such importance had been unearthed in the town ; to be precise, not since July, 1826, when, in digging for the foundations of the prison, a bronze vase containing 336 gold pieces of Henry VI, “ fils du vainqueur d'Azincourt,” was discovered.

The present find was within the business premises of M. Crouy, 75 rue Damrémont, where, in the sand just below the surface, a broken terra-cotta bowl, like a small honey jar, was found, containing a silver ring, and 5 gold and 82 silver coins. The money comprised the period between the beginning of the reign of Charles VII and almost the close of that of Henry VIII of England ; and from the absence of the latest varieties of the latter King, it would seem almost certain that the hoard was hidden during his siege, or occupation, of Boulogne in 1544.

The French and English coins were represented in curiously equal numbers, but their details must await publication in the *Journal*. Dr. Dutertre explained the presence of the English money as legal currency by quoting a decree of Henri II of the 20th of May, 1550, which, although rather later in date, was probably not the

first of its series. It ordered that English silver money circulating in Boulogne should pass current at one-third of its face value. "Comme on le voit, les variations sur le change ne datent pas du traité de Versailles !"

#### THE COINAGE OF IRELAND DURING THE REBELLION, 1641-52.

At the time of his death, in November last, Mr. F. Willson Yeates was engaged in preparing notes for a sequel or postscript to his interesting and valuable paper, under the above heading in Volume XV of the *Journal*. Fortunately, he had consulted Miss Helen Farquhar and Mr. L. L. Fletcher upon them, and had prepared a rough draft of the first part.

This Miss Farquhar had offered to revise with Mr. Fletcher's assistance, and she was able to read it to the Meeting, so that, as she hoped, the result of Mr. Yeates's further researches might be preserved in the pages of the *Journal*. It included the coins exhibited and described by her that evening, and important documentary evidence, which Mr. Yeates had since discovered, bearing upon the theories of his original paper. But she explained that she and Mr. Fletcher had been careful to preserve the notes without any alterations or additions, except those which the author had discussed and intended, or for which he had left spaces to be filled in from the references he had given.

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#### ORDINARY MEETING.

*Wednesday, March 21st, 1923.*

Mr. GRANT R. FRANCIS, *President*, and later, Lieut.-Colonel  
H. W. MORRIESON, F.S.A., *Vice-President, in the Chair.*

The President announced that Miss Helen Farquhar had yet again contributed £10 towards the cost of extra illustrations in the *Journal*.

*Presentation to the Library.*

By Mrs. F. Willson Yeates :—A copy of " The Coinage of Ireland during the Rebellion 1641-1652 " : by her late husband, Mr. F. Willson Yeates.<sup>1</sup>

*Exhibitions in Illustration of the Papers.*

By Mr. Andrew :—The spindle-whorl described in his paper, and two silver pennies of King Athelstan for comparison ; also casts of three coins of the York mint of the same reign, kindly supplied by the Keeper of Coins in the British Museum, illustrating the prototype for the whorl.

The twelfth-century standard seal of Southampton ; model in silver of a Viking ship, and other exhibits in illustration of his second paper.

By Mr. William Dale :—The spindle and whorl, and the specimen of Egyptian fine linen referred to in his address.

By Mr. F. A. Walters :—Edward III, half-noble of early type, showing the ship as it first appeared upon our mediæval gold coinage ; and a noble of the Calais mint. Edward IV, angel issued after his restoration, with mint-mark, a pierced cross ; and the letter **æ** and a rose at the sides of the cross over the ship. Various coins and jettons illustrating the ship.

By Mr. V. B. Crowther-Beynon :—A spindle of bone, carefully carved and polished, which was found with other objects of Roman date at Market Overton. Early spindles, being usually made of wood and therefore perishable, were rarely found in this country, and this was the only example exhibited. Five spindle-whorls ; the seal-matrix of Richard de Kendal, Chaplain, of the first half of the fourteenth century ; and a series of coin weights and jettons bearing designs of the ship.

<sup>1</sup> Printed in vol. xv of the *Journal*.

By Mr. Thomas G. Barnett :—Three spindle-whorls, one found at Gruting, Shetland, and the other two, one of which was ornamented with concentric circles, and circles enclosing dots, in Berkeley Street, Gloucester.

Athelstan, penny, + ÆDELSTAN REX, bust to right, reverse + BYRNWALD M<sup>ON</sup> · PE = Wallingford, small cross in the centre; in perfect preservation.

Early fourteenth-century seal-matrix of Damian de Basara.

Edward III, noble of the period 1351–1360, with obverse *e* and reverse *c*, as described in the *Numismatic Chronicle* for 1911, page 293; noble, *Kenyon* type 23, and half-noble, type 8, of 1360–1369; and noble, type 29, of 1369–1377.

By Mrs. Andrew :—Small collection of the gold series from Edward III to Charles I, formed by the late Major A. B. Creeke between 1850 and 1870.

By Mr. W. C. Wells :—A collection of seal-matrices comprising six Roman rings, eight mediæval rings, thirty mediæval seals, and twelve armorial seals in silver; several being of unusual interest.

#### *General Exhibitions.*

By Mr. G. H. Stafford :—Henry VIII, halfpenny of the second issue. Charles I, threepence of the York mint; and a half-groat and penny by Nicholas Briot. Colonel Morrieson remarked that the perfect condition of these three coins was probably unrivalled.

By Mr. H. W. Taffs :—A box made from a thaler, or more probably from two, of the Emperor Ferdinand III, 1637–1657, which when opened disclosed two contemporary portraits of a man and possibly his wife, but more probably of a mother and son. The miniatures were beautifully

painted in oil upon the silver of the coin itself, one being inside each half of the box. At the Anniversary Meeting in 1920, Miss H. Farquhar had exhibited several plain boxes of that character, and explained that although they were intended to contain portraits, the miniatures, unfortunately, had very rarely been preserved.

*Papers.*

A SPINDLE-WHORL CARVED IN IMITATION OF A PENNY OF ATHELSTAN  
A.D. 925-941.

Mr. W. J. Andrew, F.S.A., said that he was indebted to Mr. G. H. Stafford for the interesting spindle-whorl exhibited, which was found at Caergwrle, near Wrexham. It was very neatly carved in fine Silurian limestone, and not unlike a very thick half-crown of to-day; for it was flat and a true circle of one and a quarter inches in diameter by nearly half an inch thick. Although probably copied by an illiterate artist as his love-token to a "spinster," the design and legends were carefully imitated from the portrait type of Athelstan's money, and on both the obverse and reverse the outer and inner circles of the coin were present, the latter forming a frame around the spindle hole. He thought that he might carry the identification still further, for the facts that on the obverse the King's mantle had plain and nearly straight folds, the initial cross was omitted from the legend, and the King's name commenced with  $\pi$  instead of  $\mathfrak{A}$ , whilst on the reverse the initial cross of the legend was duplicated, indicated that the actual prototype had been probably a penny of the York mint. Although the form and inner circles of an Anglo-Saxon penny seemed almost to invite its use as a model for spindle-whorls, anything of the kind had been previously unknown to the authorities at the British Museum and to him.

Mr. William Dale, F.S.A., explained the great antiquity of the art of spinning, and gave quotations from the Bible and Homer in illustration. He referred also to several mediæval representations

of the process, and in particular to that of Eve spinning, on the remarkable Norman font at East Meon. He showed a spindle and whorl which had been in use in Scotland until comparatively recent times, and described similar examples in the British Museum from Egypt, which were as old as the days of Tutankhamen. Also he exhibited a specimen of the fine linen of Egypt from the proto-dynastic cemetery of Tai Tarkand, the thread of which was produced by spindle and whorl.

While Mr. Dale was speaking Miss Violet Alston, from "the Alston Spinning and Weaving Studio," 50, South Molton Street, gave a demonstration of spinning in the ancient manner, an art she had learnt in Greece, where it was still practised. The graceful process was watched with interest, and after the Meeting it was kindly repeated by request.

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THE TWELFTH-CENTURY STANDARD SEAL OF SOUTHAMPTON, AND  
THE EVOLUTION OF THE SHIP-OF-WAR AS DEPICTED ON THE  
GOLD COINAGE OF EDWARD III.

Mr. Andrew exhibited the twelfth-century standard seal, or die, for the leaden matrices of Southampton's earliest seal, which, like many Italian and other examples, was therefore in relief. Forgery of mediæval documents, he explained, was always rife, and therefore many of our early civic seal-matrices were of lead impressed from a die; so that, although the matrix in use might be worn out and renewed from time to time, the seal of a document of any period could still be verified in every detail. Southampton still possessed a counterseal-matrix in lead of this character.

The standard seal before them was of bronze, circular in form, and, including a rim of two-fifths of an inch for the "collar," three inches in diameter by nearly three-quarters of an inch in thickness. The face, like that of most dies, having been hardened, was in perfect condition, and the design upon it in very high relief, but the edge showed evidence of severe use. Here and there, too, on both edge

and back the diesinker had tested some of his punches for finishing the leaden matrices by trial impressions.

The seal represented a single-masted ship with high prow and poop, steered by the old steering-, or star-board, with streamer from the mast head, a flowing squaresail set bearing the armorial badge of two crosses pattées, and a single "castle" only, the sterncastle. Legend, **SIGILLVM • VILLE • SVTHAMTONIE.**

The Lecturer thought that there could be little doubt that this seal immediately followed Henry II's grant of the gild-merchant and other privileges to Southampton, not only because of its early style but also for the following reasons.

Its legend bore no claim that it was a "common seal," whereas Southampton's second seal, which must have followed King John's charter of 1199, commenced *Sigillum comune*. He believed that the term "common seal" implied certain technical and legal conditions which did not exist before the introduction of the new privileges granted by civic charters of which that to London in 1191 was the first. He instanced the case of the ancient borough of Ipswich, where it was on record that on receipt of their new charter from King John in 1200 the burgesses immediately ordered a "common seal" to be made.

The design proved that the now almost forgotten sterncastle preceded the introduction of the forecastle, and was one of only three illustrations known to him in which the sterncastle appeared alone on English ships. It would be noticed that it was depicted as an embattled wooden tower of a very temporary character, supported on crossed timbers exactly as builders' scaffolding is put up to-day; and the reason was, as Domesday tells us, that our Channel ports had to supply their ships for the King's service for only twenty-one days in the year, and therefore the ordinary merchant ships were then adapted to military purposes by such defensive structures. Although forty of our maritime towns bore pictures of ships on their early seals, this was the only instance of a temporary sterncastle alone, also the set squaresail and plain planking of the hull were evidence of very early date.



The small crosses on the sail were exactly like those of Henry II's first coinage, which was current until 1180, and Mr. Andrew believed that they represented the King's badge, for most of the civic seals that followed the later charters of Richard, John and Henry III, including Southampton's second seal, bore the royal crescent-and-star, so familiar to numismatists upon the money of the last-named King.

The lettering also of the legend pointed to the date suggested, and the general character of the design could not well be of any later period.

Then the Lecturer treated the general evolution of the ship from early times to that depicted upon Edward III's money, and in particular he urged that instead of commemorating the sea-fight of Sluys, as hitherto suggested, the design of the King, crowned, bearing shield of the arms of England and sword of state, standing within the ship, represented "Church and State," as defined by Magna Charter; for the ship was always "the symbol of the Church in which the faithful were borne safely over the sea of life to the haven—or Heaven—of eternity."

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#### ORDINARY MEETING.

*Wednesday, April 25th, 1923.*

MR. GRANT R. FRANCIS, *President, in the Chair.*

#### *Exhibitions in Illustration of the Paper.*

By Mr. V. B. Crowther-Beynon :—A series of fifty-eight variants from the list of imitations of the regal coinage of the eighteenth century given in "The Tradesmen's Tokens of the Eighteenth Century, 1892." Mr. Crowther-Beynon was

asked by the President to submit the list of these coins to Professor Barnard, with a view to its possible inclusion in his paper, when printed in the *Journal*.

Three leaden tokens. Laureated bust of Charles II ; reverse, W. I., 1682. Thistle, crowned ; reverse R. L. or possibly R. I., a heart, 1758. Dove holding the olive branch, within an inner circle, IOHN NATTON, the O not quite certain ; reverse CHARTERHOVSE : SQVARE + I. N. ; above, a lozenge ; below, a quatrefoil ; within an inner circle.

By Mr. Lionel L. Fletcher :—Two additional varieties to the list mentioned above ; namely, obverse of 120 with reverse of 308 ; and obverse of 385 with reverse of 408. These also, it was suggested, should be submitted to Professor Barnard.

A farthing token of Stowe, dated 1796 ; reverse, the manorial pigeon cote.

By Mr. Walter L. Pocock :—A selected series of the imitation coinage.

By Mr. Edward E. Needes :—An imitation in silver gilt, and possibly from the official dies, of a half-guinea. This Mr. Needes presented to the Society's collection.

By Mr. J. O. Manton :—Twenty-one interesting examples of the imitations.

By Mr. L. A. Lawrence :—Mediaeval official casting counters. Three of the Great Wardrobe of Edward III, with legend, **GARDE ROBE REGIS**. Two bearing the arms of Edmund Plantagenet, Earl of Lancaster, 1245 to 1296. Two of large size bearing the lion rampant. Two small counters, one with a device of two crowns, the other with three crowns in pale.

By Mr. Ernest H. Wheeler :—A remarkable series of fifty-one imitations, concoctions, and contemporary forgeries, of English money, from the time of Offa to the reign of Victoria.

By Mr. Coleman P. Hyman :—Four irregular examples of the Australian coinage.

By Mr. W. J. Andrew :—A set of twelve twopenny and penny pieces smoothed and beautifully engraved by the same hand, that of J.B.S., with pictures of the battles of Fleures and Waterloo, the Entry into Paris, of Edinburgh and of the Tower of London ; of scenes illustrating Captain Talbot and the Bethnal-green Volunteers and other local and political events of the period of the Napoleonic Wars.

### *Paper.*

#### IMITATIONS OF THE REGAL COINAGE.

Professor F. P. Barnard, F.S.A., contributed a paper on the series described by Atkins as imitations of the regal coinage. The wording of the Act against false coining, 16 George II., c. 28, was, he said, perhaps intentionally vague ; and it was generally accepted as not including the halfpence and farthings. Hence the regal copper money, which was of full weight, was steadily melted down by counterfeiters to provide the metal for their lighter and miserable imitations. But, by a statute of 1771, the imitating of any of the Tower halfpence and farthings was made a felony, then punishable by death ; and this explained the evasive, often grotesque, types and legends that occurred on so many of the later imitations, and were supposed to help the utterers to cheat the gallows. In those days, when the strictest construction was placed upon the wording of both statute and indictment, there was certainly room for special pleading that such a legend as, for instance, GVLIELMVS SHAKESPEAR, or GOD SAVE THE KING, was not a "counterfeit" of GEORGIVS III. REX. These "Birmingham halfpence"

were spoken of by Raspe, in his "Catalogue of Gems," 1791, as having been fabricated by "shabby, dishonest, button-makers in the dark lanes of Birmingham and London." No doubt, they were sold at a discount and passed by the buyers at their full nominal value; the Toll-men at the turnpikes to whom persons from all parts tossed these coppers as they passed, being an active medium for their circulation, for they, in turn, would promptly get rid of them in change. The dies by which these rude pieces were stamped seemed to have been treated in such a way as to produce coins that appeared worn in circulation, and so inspired confidence.

Pinkerton, writing his "Essay on Medals" in 1789, estimated that not the fiftieth part of the copper currency was legitimate, and the reason given why only twopenny and penny pieces were struck by the Mint in 1797, was because it was not considered desirable in the interests of the poor to drive the halfpenny and farthing tokens, and the "imitations," instantly out of circulation, lest there should be a sudden deficiency of small change. It was the very large issue by the government of all three denominations, penny, halfpenny, and farthing in 1806-7, that killed the eighteenth-century "imitations" and the tokens too.

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## ORDINARY MEETING.

*Wednesday, May 30th, 1923.*

Mr. GRANT R. FRANCIS, *President*, and later, whilst the President read his paper, Mr. W. J. ANDREW, F.S.A., *in the Chair*.

Mr. Albert Wheeler was unanimously elected a Member of the Society.

### *Exhibitions in Illustration of the Paper.*

By Mr. Grant R. Francis:—Plaster casts of the rare Jacobite medal in pewter in the British Museum, *Medallic Illustrations*, II, 314, 137, specially referred to in his paper. The

inscription on the reverse, THVLE — HIC VIR HIC EST  
TIBI QVEM PROMITTI SÆPIVS AVDIS · IACOBVS  
CAESAR · DIVI GENVS AVREA RVRSVS, SECVLA QVI  
REDDET SCOTIS · was adapted from the *Æneid*, VI,  
792-794, but at cost of the metre.

By Miss Helen Farquhar :—A collection of Stuart jewels and  
memorials, including the following :—

Medals and miniatures of Charles II in exile and at  
the Restoration, 1649-1660.

Locket and brooch sent to Flora Macdonald by Prince  
Charles Edward after his escape to France.

Silver locket enamelled with the portrait of Prince  
Charles after that by Robert Strange.

A series of medals of Prince James, Prince Charles  
and Cardinal York.

By Lord Beauchamp :—Photograph of his contemporary portrait  
in oil of Prince Charles Edward. An engraving of this  
picture by Page, in or about 1826, exhibited by Mr. Andrew,  
was subscribed "From an original Picture by Vandeist in  
the possession of Earl Beauchamp." The artist would be  
the younger Vandeist.

By Lieut.-Colonel H. W. Morrieson :—A set of the English  
silver coins of James II.

By Mrs. Suckling, of Romsey :—Silver-gilt pendant of the  
Crucifixion, between the figures of St. Mary and St. John,  
supported by an inverted fleur-de-lys ; which had descended  
in the family with the following label, "This Crucifix once  
belonged to the unfortunate Mary Queen of Scots, and  
formed part of a cabinet of jewels and ornaments of her  
person."

Silver snuff-box with gilt portrait badge of Charles I,  
after Thomas Rawlins, and incised CAR · I · M · BRI · —  
FR · ET · HIB · REX, set in the lid below a celestial crown,

between the broken sceptre and axe, and above the Prayer Book, broken crown, broken sword of state, the cup, and other emblems of his execution. Inside the lid the reverse of the badge is shown; namely the portrait of Queen Anne in high relief, after that on the Peace-of-Utrecht medal by John Croker, whose initials ·I·C· are on the truncation; the legend being ANNA ·D·G·MAG·BRI·FR·ET·HIB·REG, in incised letters. Lieut.-Colonel Sir James Stuart-Menteth has a snuff-box very similar to this, and another is in the Carisbrooke Castle Museum, for about the date of Anne's death, when her brother, Prince James, was expected by many to succeed as grandson and heir of Charles I, such memorials were popular propaganda of the English Jacobite Party.

By Mr. Winter for Mr. S. M. Spink :—Silver counter-box in open work, bearing portraits of Charles I and Henrietta Maria, and containing a complete set of counters representing the sovereigns of England from Edward the Confessor to Charles I.

Case containing fourteen badges and medals of the Stuart period. Also examples of the AMOR ET SPES, and REVIRESCIT Jacobite medals.

By Miss Tragett, of Awbridge Danes :—Silver counter box in open work of the time of Queen Anne, ornamented with Cupids and containing counters of the Stuart rose, Queen Anne's portrait, and Cupids.

The memorial medal of Charles I, in bronze, by John Roettiers.

By Mr. E. E. Needes :—Silver counter box in open work with portrait of Charles I on the lid, containing ten counters.

Badge of Charles I, with portrait to left, in silver-gilt.

A Scottish plaid brooch in silver, dated 1724, and a series of Stuart medals and memorials of Charles I, James II, and Anne.

By Mr. E. M. Burnett :—Small copy of the New Testament of 1628, bound with the heraldic device of the Prince of Wales's feathers in needle-work, and probably used at the christening ceremony of Charles II.

A large picture in Stuart needle-work.

The cliché portrait in silver of Charles II, by John Roettiers.

By Mr. C. Kirkby Mason :—Small heart-shaped locket of silver, containing a miniature portrait medal of Charles I, and engraved with the couplet, "I live and dy in loyalte, prepared be to follow me."

Print from a copper plate of a remarkable adaptation of Van Dyck's well-known painting of Henrietta Maria in her ordinary costume, but radiated, and subscribed "St. Mary Magdalene."

By Mr. A. H. Baldwin :—The rare medal in bronze known, from its reverse design of Fame flying, and the legends CAROLUS PRINCEPS and SUUM CUIQUE, as "Prince Charles's Medal of Fame." Mr. Baldwin explained that this was one of the three specimens, only, known.

By Mr. Cecil Davis :—Papier-mâché snuff-box mounted in silver-gilt and bearing a portrait of Prince Charles based upon that by Le Tocqué, of 1748; but as it is set between the initials C\_R, of Carolus Rex, the box must have been made subsequently to his titular succession in 1766. Also, the curious treatment of the royal arms painted on the bottom of the box suggests a continental origin.

By Mr. W. J. Andrew :—A series of twenty-five Jacobite medals, in silver and bronze.

A small collection of Stuart snuff-boxes, miniatures, enamels and medals.



*Paper.*

JACOBITE DRINKING GLASSES, AND THEIR RELATION TO THE JACOBITE  
MEDALS.

Mr. Grant R. Francis, President of the Society, read his paper under this heading, and illustrated his remarks with a series of lantern slides of the very beautiful examples of Jacobite glasses in the British Museum and the Victoria and Albert Museum, in the well-known collections of Mr. Hamilton Clements and Mr. Joseph Bles, in the possession of Mr. V. B. Crowther-Beynon, and in his own cabinet ; whilst Miss Helen Farquhar and Mr. Andrew had supplied the corresponding Jacobite medals for comparison.

In disclosing the discoveries he had made, Mr. Francis believed that not only would they definitely prove that these glasses were designed and inscribed from the medals, but also that medallic influences had made a deeper impression in the general art of the eighteenth century than had been suspected. The relation commenced with the early glasses of the Jacobite Cycle Club, bearing the symbolic six-rayed star, which seemed clearly to be derived from the medal of 1729 bearing the same star and the legend MICAT INTER OMNES ; and he was able in a like manner to traverse the interval between that date and the rising of 1745.

The lecturer demonstrated that the portrait glasses invariably presented Prince Charles in full Highland dress, a costume in which he would not have been depicted before the romance of his adventures had associated him with it ; and other reasons were offered in proof that, in spite of the general belief that Charles himself had presented many of these glasses to his adherents whilst actually in this country, they had in fact been designed and made after the rising had been suppressed and the Prince had escaped to the Continent. For instance, his own glass in this series bore the motto HIC VIR HIC EST above the portrait, and its direct counterpart was to be found in the pewter medal in the British Museum with the reverse inscription commencing THVLE—HIC VIR HIC EST. For the obverse of this medal an old die, that bearing the portrait of Prince James of

1708, had been re-used, and had led to a misconception of its date ; but when they remembered the legend commencing **TORBAY** on the medal commemorating William of Orange's landing in England, it was quite certain that the word **THVLE** in this case proved that the reverse die was prepared, and the medal issued to celebrate the actual landing of Prince Charles on the island of Eriska in the Hebrides—the *Thule* of Scottish romance. The portrait was almost identical with that upon one of the glasses discovered at Oxburgh Hall and now in the collection of Mr. Hamilton Clements, and both were directly copied from a print, No. 24 in the Catalogue of the British Museum, which is believed to be from a painting by Dominique Dupré. To the Oxburgh Hall glass, however, was added the verse

*Charles ye Great—ye Brave—the Just & Good  
Britannias Prince ye noblest of her Bld  
Thy Glorious Feats  
Ye world may From  
Britannias Glory  
& Britane Shame*

which alone was convincing evidence that it was made after the complete failure of the '45.

A glass which created considerable interest was that which presented the identical design and motto of "the oak medal," dated 1750, namely, the stricken Boscobel oak with a vigorous sapling springing from its roots, and, above, the word **REVIRESCIT**. The glasses inscribed **REDEAT** were directly traced to the medal of 1752, which reads **REDEAT MAGNVS ILLE GENIVS BRITANNIÆ**, and the suggestion was made that **REDEAT** was probably the "word" of the Jacobite Club, which met at the Crown and Anchor Inn, opposite to St. Clement Danes Church in the Strand, and was responsible for the issue of the oak medal designed by Thomas Pingo.

After explaining the emblem of the butterfly, which appeared upon many of the later glasses as symbolic of the "return of the

soul " of the cause, and that of the bee, by contemporary quotations, Mr. Francis turned to the series of Jacobite glasses, specially interesting to numismatists, as containing actual coins of Charles II and James II within the stem. These, he explained, were obviously made within the period 1715 to 1750, when the movement was at its height ; and such glasses, containing the image and superscription of Stuart Kings who had ceased to reign long before, were as definitely Jacobite, as were other glasses, containing the coins of William III, Anne, and the Georges, counterblasts of the Hanoverian Party.

In the discussion that followed, which was of a very congratulatory character, Mr. A. C. Fox-Davies reviewed the emblems and devices disclosed upon the glasses and medals from the heraldic point of view. The adoption of the white rose by the Jacobite Party was, he thought, due to the fact that James II was Duke of York. Whilst the Hanoverian cockade was the earlier, and the natural expedient for adjusting the then form of the hat, he was not satisfied that its rival, the white cockade, was in evidence before the '45.

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## ORDINARY MEETING.

*Wednesday, June 27th, 1923.*

Mr. GRANT R. FRANCIS, *President, in the Chair.*

The President announced a further gift of £100 from Mr. Wheeler upon the election of his son, Mr. Albert Wheeler, as a Life Member ; and it was resolved that the thanks of the Society be accorded to him for this most generous donation.

### *Presentations to the Library.*

By Messrs. Spink and Son :—*The Numismatic Circular*, volume xxx, 1922, bound.

Through Messrs. Harrison and Sons, Limited :—*Catalogue of French Coins* in the Bibliothèque Nationale ; First Section.

Votes of thanks were passed to the Donors.

*Exhibitions.*

By Mr. H. Alexander Parsons :—A tray of coins of different mints of a type of Ethelred II, to show the consistency of their workmanship ; and a series of coins and casts in illustration of his paper.

By Mr. A. E. Bagnall :—Edward the Confessor. Pennies of the York mint ; +DPERD REX  $\pi$  ; reverse, +OÐIN ON EOFER $\cdot$  annulet, *Hildebrand* A. +EDP $\pi$ R $\cdot$ D RE+ ligulated ; reverse, +ÐVRRIM ON EOF, annulet in the third quarter, *Hildebrand* A, No. 162. +ÆDP $\cdot$ RD REX, no bow to the fillet ; reverse, +ÆLFERE ON EOFE, *Hildebrand* C, No. 99. +EADPARD R ; reverse, +OÐGRIM ON EOFRI, annulet in the second quarter, *Hildebrand* G. Of London, +EDPERD RE ; reverse, +ÆLFPOND ON LV, *Hildebrand* B, No. 419.

*Britannia.*

Referring to Mr. Andrew's remarks at the February meeting on the similarity of the personification of Italia to that of Britannia upon Roman, and therefore upon our own, money, Mr. F. A. Walters exhibited and described the following interesting series of the Roman coinage to illustrate the question.

Antoninus Pius : sestertius representing Italia in profile, seated upon a globe.

Hadrian : as and sestertius, Britannia facing, seated upon a rock.

Antoninus Pius : as, Britannia in profile, seated upon a rock ; sestertius, Britannia in profile, seated upon a shield.

Commodus : medallion, Britannia in profile, seated.

*Paper.*

ASSAYS AND IMITATIONS OF ANGLO-SAXON COINS A.D. 975-1066.

Mr. H. Alexander Parsons, after reviewing the progress and final settlement, upon almost stereotyped lines, of the diesinker's art,

explained that a very critical examination was necessary to separate the true types of this series from the intrusion of foreign imitations, native forgeries, assays, and what he would term "commemorative pieces." By comparison with Scandinavian issues, he was able to prove that some coins, still classed as doubtful in the English series, were clearly of foreign origin. Others were due to the nefarious art of the ever-present forger, and, quoting from the Anglo-Saxon laws, and occasional references in the chronicles to show how general this fraud was, he believed that even some of the moneyers themselves were amongst the guilty. To demonstrate this by actual experiment he severed a doubtful piece whilst he spoke, and disclosed that between the two outside films of impressed silver was a kernel of base metal. This explained the tiny cuts and chips so noticeable on the surface of coins of this period, particularly upon those found in Scandinavia, for they represented the rough and ready method in use by the vikings to test the quality of the tribute money they levied from this country.

Mr. Parsons contended that such pieces as *Hildebrand* Type E, variety *c* of Ethelred II, F of Canute, and I, variety *a* of Edward the Confessor, were of the nature of assays, struck preparatory to the authorisation of the main coinages; and that *Hildebrand* Type G of Ethelred II was a "commemorative" issue. (The paper is printed in this volume.)

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## ORDINARY MEETING.

*Wednesday, October 24th, 1923.*

MR. GRANT R. FRANCIS, *President, in the Chair.*

The President announced that Miss H. Farquhar had forwarded a cheque for £10 to the Treasurer, the cost of illustrating her paper in the forthcoming volume of the *Journal*; and the thanks of the Members were accorded to her for this gift.

Mr. Ernest H. Wheeler and Mr. R. Montagu Simon were elected Auditors for the current year.

*Presentations to the Library.*

Mr. H. Alexander Parsons as Librarian reported the gift by H.M. the King of Italy, a Royal Member of the Society, of volumes v, vi, vii, and viii of the *Corpus Nummorum Italicorum* which completed this superb numismatic work.

A special vote of thanks, moved from the Chair, and seconded by the Librarian, was awarded to the Royal Donor and Author.

By the Authors :—*Catalogue of the Roman Coins in the Chester Museum*; by the Rev. J. T. Davies and Mr. F. W. Longbottom.

*Exhibitions.*

In illustration of Mr. Andrew's lecture, Mr. L. A. Lawrence exhibited the remarkable example which alone of the series of coins of Stephen's reign bearing the name Eustace, added the surname, and so had enabled Mr. Lawrence in 1890 to identify the issuer as Eustace Fitz-John.

Sir William Wells exhibited examples of the money, and read some interesting notes upon a comparison of the ten-rouble gold piece recently issued in Russia with the pre-war rouble and its gold basis.

By Mr. Winter on behalf of Mr. S. M. Spink :—Six Anglo-Saxon silver pennies and two Scottish gold pieces, selected because of their perfect state of preservation :—

Cuthred of Kent, A.D. 796–804, +CVÐRED REX CANT ; reverse, +EABA MONETA, as *Ruding*, iii, 1.

Archbishop Wulfred, 805–832, +VVLFREDI ARCHIEPISCOPI, tonsured bust of the Archbishop, facing, with a pellet on each side ; reverse, +SÆBERHT MONETA, varied from *Ruding*, xiii, 1.

- Berhtwulf of Mercia, 839-852, BERHTVLF REX M; reverse, +EAN+RED, as *Ruding*, vii, 3.
- Edward the Elder, 901-925, +EADVVEARD BEX; reverse, BEAGS +++ TAN M. in four lines, varied from *Ruding*, xvi, 4.
- Edmund, 941-946, +EADMVND RE; reverse, +GIONGBALD MO NORPE, Norwich, as *Ruding*, xviii, 2.
- Edred, 946-955, +EADRED REX; reverse, +MANNA MONETA, as *Ruding*, xix, 1-4.
- James V of Scotland, the "bonnet piece" of 1540, as *Burns*, 754.
- James VI of Scotland, the "hat piece" of 1592, as *Burns*, 952.
- By Mr. Edmund Parsons:—Henry VI, halfpenny of "the pine-cone coinage" recently found at Andover.

## A NUMISMATIC HISTORY OF THE REIGN OF STEPHEN— *continued.*

### THE SERIES OF COINS BEARING THE NAME EUSTACE.<sup>1</sup>

Mr. W. J. Andrew, F.S.A., continuing<sup>2</sup> his suggested interpretation of the coins known as "the ornament series of York," said that previously to the year 1890 all those bearing the name Eustace, namely *Hawkins* types 282 and 283,<sup>3</sup> had been attributed to Eustace, the elder son of King Stephen. In that year Mr. Lawrence discovered the coin illustrated<sup>4</sup> in the *Numismatic Chronicle* for 1890, p. 43, and in the accompanying paper, a paper which had stood the test of thirty-three years, conclusively proved that the "lion type" at

<sup>1</sup> As these notes will not otherwise appear in the Society's *Journal*, they are more fully reported than are papers which merely await publication.—EDITOR.

<sup>2</sup> *Proceedings*, October 25th, 1922.

<sup>3</sup> Also, *British Numismatic Journal*, iii, p. 290, figs. 119 and 120.

<sup>4</sup> Also, *British Museum Catalogue*, i, plate lx, fig. 10.



least, and probably the "armed figure type" also, were issued by Eustace Fitz-John. But neither he nor any subsequent writer had attempted any explanation of the legends other than the name and mint, nor of the devices upon the coins.

Eustace Fitz-John, or de Burgh, of the House of Pons, was the leader of the military party of the Empress Matilda in the North of England. More than one contemporary historian described him as having been the most intimate and the wisest of her father, King Henry's friends, for whom he had been Justiciary in the North and a Sequestrator of the see of Durham; and, at Stephen's accession, he was hereditary Castellan or lord of the castles of Alnwick, Bamborough, Knaresborough with Burgh, Blyth, and Malton.

When David of Scotland, nominally in the cause of his niece the Empress, threatened invasion of the North in 1138, with York itself as the objective, Eustace and a few other barons who remained staunch to their oath of allegiance to her, joined his banner; whilst Stephen, who was engaged in suppressing a general revolt in the South of England, appointed Thurstan, the aged Archbishop of York, as his Lieutenant and Protector of the North, and it was probably under that title that the Archbishop had issued "the flag type" of the series under consideration, which he, the lecturer, had attempted to explain just a year ago.

At the Battle of the Standard on August 22nd, 1138, David was defeated, and Eustace Fitz-John retired with him into Northumberland, and later to Carlisle. Probably it was in this fight that the latter was wounded, for the chroniclers of Stephen's party afterwards described him as "that one-eyed traitor."

Archbishop Thurstan died in February, 1140, and owing to the political chaos that ensued, the see remained vacant for several years of discord. But the ordinary course would be followed, and a sequestrator of the temporalities appointed on behalf of the King. Mr. Andrew believed that Robert de Stuteville, who had distinguished himself at the Battle of the Standard, led the townbands of the City of York and lived in "a certain stone house in

Cuninge Strete." As he seems to have been passed over in the Honours List that followed the battle, it is probable that he received this appointment of sequestrator as his reward, which included the use on behalf of the Crown of the Archbishop's money-dies.

By ancient custom the Archbishop had two dies and the King one in the mint of York, although at times the King seems to have transferred his to the Archbishop. From the coins it would, however, appear that Stephen had hitherto retained his right, because some of Archbishop Thurstan's issues of the first type of the reign were differenced by the insertion of a small crozier at the commencement of the reverse legend. The sequestrator therefore, whether he was Robert de Stuteville or not, would at this time merely continue the issue of the "flag type" from the Archbishop's two dies, and that of the ordinary money of Stephen's first type from the Crown die.

But upon the overthrow of Stephen at the Battle of Lincoln on February the 2nd, 1141, his imprisonment, and the accession to regal power of the Empress Matilda, King David of Scotland, accompanied by Eustace Fitz-John, was received into the City of York in the May following, on his way to join the Empress; but Eustace remained there as military leader of her party in the North. It seemed to have escaped numismatic notice that he was closely related to Robert de Stuteville, identified long ago by Mr. Lawrence as the issuer of the "horseman type" *Hawkins*, 280, for his son William de Vesci, who took his mother's name, had married Burga, daughter of Robert de Stuteville; and it may be due to the influence of this marriage that after the Battle of the Standard the siege of Eustace's castle of Malton was mysteriously abandoned, and that David and Eustace were peacefully welcomed at York in May, 1141.

Then it would be that Eustace Fitz-John, as military representative of the Empress Matilda, and as such, successor to Archbishop Thurstan as Lieutenant and Protector of the North, would issue the two distinctive types of money at York bearing his name: the "lion type" now representing the two archiepiscopal dies in

sequestration, and "the armed figure type" as the Crown die. Mr. Andrew thought that the issue of this coinage by Eustace in his own name as Protector of the see of York was a diplomatic compromise between the claims of Matilda, of David of Scotland, whose forces were in occupation, and of the powerful barons of Stephen's party represented by William of Albamarle, Earl of York.

Hence the two distinct types before them, the "lion type," representing the sequestration, and the "armed figure type" with its raised sword of state representing the lay title conferred upon the late Archbishop and now claimed by Eustace as his military successor, Lieutenant of the North; but limited, because of David's claims to Northumberland, to "Protector of the territories of York." Possibly it was from this precedent that Cromwell derived his title, and certainly it would account for the general error, due to confusion of names, that had crept into history in the statement that Eustace, elder son of King Stephen, was Governor of York; an error which Mr. Andrew said had led him previously to separate the two types, but now he had the pleasure of agreeing with Mr. Lawrence and Mr. Brooke that both were issued by Eustace Fitz-John.

When Eustace assumed control of York in May, 1141, his first issue was probably from the archiepiscopal dies, for Mr. Lawrence's coin is of the "lion type" and bears his name in full. Also, as Mr. Brooke has pointed out, its lettering is similar to that of the "flag type." The earlier lettering of the ornament series must, Mr. Andrew believed, have been of local origin, for the letter **r** in it was the "Northern-Gothic" **c**; but, perhaps due to Scottish influences, the alphabet was now in transition to the Lombardic, and although **r** is still used for **c** on the reverse of Mr. Lawrence's coin, it becomes Lombardic **s** in the general change, and its form was still familiar to us as **s** in the holy monogram **thc** and even as the hall-mark on silver for the year 1753.

For instance, **DIRTI** on Mr. Lawrence's coin was obviously *dicti*; but if **r** were read as **c** in the letters **TDEFr** on another coin

the natural extension to **Turstano DEFunCto** seemed improbable, whereas if read as **S** the result was what one would expect, namely, **Terrarum DEFenSor**. The apposition of the two words, **DICTI** and **EDiTuS**, in the genitive and in the nominative, the one on the "lion" and the other on the "armed figure" type, yet both conveying the same meaning, had been the key to his proffered solutions.

The incident that the legend on Mr. Lawrence's coin was in the genitive was a survival of an earlier custom, the word "money" or "penny" being understood, and it was interesting to notice the coincidence that Mr. S. M. Spink's beautiful coin of Archbishop Wulfred, exhibited that evening by Mr. Winter, was also ecclesiastical and bore its legend in the genitive case. The ornament in the centre of the letters **EDTS** was the annulet of York, and no doubt inserted there to mark the contraction for *ic*. It was clearly an annulet and not the letter **O**. But this was the age of ornaments in missal, art, and architecture, and although the Lecturer believed that their introduction into the legends on the coins was to mark contractions, their use soon became general in imitation of letters.

The obverse device on the "lion type" marked its archiepiscopal character, for it represented the heraldic lion of York above the interlinked keys of St. Peter, with the cross and annulet of York around. The figure below the lion had been described by Hawkins as a double fetter lock, but a comparison with the early seals of York and of its Archbishops left him with no doubt that it represented the dual keys. One would have liked to have described it as a view of the Minster, but the slender spire represented by what he believed to be the key-handles would have been too early for 1141, and the ring at the top out of character.

The obverse design on the "armed figure type" showed Eustace as Protector; a full-length bearded figure, armed, in casque with nasal piece, and in long hauberk, holding upright before him the drawn sword of state and his office. Behind the figure was one—for it was varied—of the ornaments from the usual legends, and occasionally there and elsewhere were small annulets.

Applying the same rules to these coins that he had used for the "flag type," and reading the obverse and reverse legends as one, the result was as follows:—

Legends on the coins.

Suggested extension.

The "lion type"—

1. \***[EVST]ACII FII IOANIS**  
[space for five letters broken  
off the coin] **EB DICTI.**  
Mr. L. A. Lawrence's  
coin.

\***EVSTACII FILII IOANNIS**  
[*Terrarum DEFenSor*is, com-  
pare No. 3] **EBoraci DICTI.**

\***EVSTACHIVS.**

The set of Lombardic punches being new to him, the die-sinker had merely failed to complete the **v** and had used the punch for **o** instead of round **c**; hence the curious spelling on the coins.

2. \***EISTACHIVS.**  
General type.

The "armed figure type"—

3. \***EVSTACIVS EBORACI T**  
**DEFT.** Brooke, figure 7.

\***EVSTACIVS EBORACI**  
*Terrarum DEFenSor.*

4. \***EVSTACIVS EBORACI**  
**EDT2.** Brooke, figures 5-6.

\***EVSTACIVS EBORACI**  
**EDICTVS.**

These four legends, therefore, when read together as one, suggested the title:

\***EVSTACIVS FILIVS IOANNIS TERRARVM DEFENSOR**  
**EBORACI EDICTVS.**

Mr. Andrew said that he hoped to treat the remaining coin of Eustace, Mr. Brooke's figure 8, and the rest of the ornament series, in the near future.

In the general discussion that followed, Mr. G. C. Brooke expressed his pleasure at hearing the different series of York coins

expounded so clearly and comprehensively, especially in view of agreement being now reached upon the identity of authorship of the two varieties of the Eustace coins, on which there had previously been variance of opinion. He drew attention to the fact that in style of lettering Mr. Lawrence's coin resembled more closely the "armed figure type" than the "lion" issues, with which its type connected it. The advance made in the classification of the coinage of the reign of Stephen was very striking, and Mr. Andrew's work on the next group of coins would be awaited with interest.

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## ANNIVERSARY MEETING.

*Friday, November 30th, 1923.*

Mr. GRANT R. FRANCIS, *President, in the Chair.*

The President announced the death of Mrs. Andrew on the previous day and moved the following resolution, which was seconded by Lieut.-Colonel Morrieson, the Members standing in silence :—

"That this Meeting has learned with deep grief and regret of the fatal termination of an accident to Mrs. Andrew, and tenders to our Secretary its heartfelt sympathy in his great bereavement, with the hope that he will soon recover from his own injuries."<sup>1</sup>

Mr. A. Leigh Barker, the Rev. J. G. Knowles, M.A., the National Museum of Wales, Dr. Henry C. Mercer of Doylestown, U.S.A., Mr. John A. Richards, Mr. H. W. Stiles, Mr. J. Rochelle Thomas, Mr. J. W. Warne, and Mr. Arthur Whitehead were elected Members.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. and Mrs. Andrew were run down by a motor car out of control. The former's acknowledgment of this resolution is printed on page 334.

The Council's Report, which with the Treasurer's Accounts is printed later, was read by the President and adopted.

The Hon. Treasurer, Sir William Wells, F.S.A., presented the Society's accounts for the year. These he explained in detail, and called special attention to the donations of £213 3s. *od.* from the Members named; which included £200 from Mr. Wheeler. The net result of the year, he said, was that a balance of £360 14s. 6*d.* had been transferred to the General Purposes Account, increasing that fund to £2,113 7s. 3*d.* for the time being; for this £360 14s. 6*d.*, with a balance of £210 11s. 9*d.* similarly transferred to the same Account last year, represented an accumulated provision of £571 6s. 3*d.* for Volume XVI of the *Journal*, now in the press.

The Meeting congratulated Sir William Wells upon his accounts, which were unanimously passed, and a vote of thanks was also passed to the Hon. Auditors, Mr. Wheeler and Mr. R. Montagu Simon.

#### THE BALLOTS.

Mr. R. Montagu Simon and the Rev. J. G. Knowles having been appointed Scrutators, the two ballots were duly taken, and the results were as follows:—

#### OFFICERS AND COUNCIL FOR 1924.

*President* :—Grant R. Francis.

*Vice-Presidents* :—Stanley Bousfield, M.A., M.D.; William Dale, F.S.A., F.G.S.; Miss Helen Farquhar; Major W. J. Freer, V.D., D.L., F.S.A.; Lieut.-Colonel H. W. Morrieson, F.S.A.; The Rev. Edgar Rogers, O.B.E., M.A.

*Director* :—Frederick A. Walters, F.S.A.

*Treasurer* :—Sir William Wells, F.S.A.

*Librarian* :—H. Alexander Parsons.

*Secretary* :—W. J. Andrew, F.S.A.

*Council* :—Edgar M. Burnett; Frank E. Burton; V. B. Crowther-Beynon, M.B.E., M.A., F.S.A.; Lionel L. Fletcher; Lord Grantley, D.L., F.S.A.; L. A. Lawrence, F.R.C.S., F.S.A.; Richard C. Lockett, F.S.A.; Walter L. Pocock; R. Montagu Simon; W. Beresford Smith; H. W. Taffs, M.B.E.; Major K. P. Vaughan-Morgan, O.B.E., M.P.; Frank Warren; Ernest H. Wheeler; Charles Winter.



Miss D. H. Andrews kindly expressed her willingness to continue her duties as Hon. Assistant Secretary to the Council.

#### THE JOHN SANFORD SALTUS TRIENNIAL GOLD MEDAL.

The Scrutators having reported that this Medal had been awarded by a majority of the votes to Mr. H. Alexander Parsons for his papers on the series of Anglo-Saxon coins, the President congratulated him personally, and the Society—in that its Hon. Librarian was now also a Saltus Medallist.

A vote of thanks to the Scrutators was passed.

#### *Exhibitions.*

By Mr. F. A. Walters :—Henry VI. A groat of the annulet issue of the heavy coinage and York mint. Obverse, lys on each side of the neck, and mint-mark cross pierced of the second type ; reverse, annulet after **POSVI** and **ABORPCI**. The Exhibitor explained that this was the best preserved of the six specimens only of this variety known to him, three of them being in the National Collection. They were specially interesting, because the identification of the earliest coinage of the reign was based on them, owing to the fact that the exact date of their issue was known by documentary evidence.

By Mr. Edgar M. Burnett :—A beautiful medal of silver-gilt in its old case, depicting a royal wedding and on the reverse the marriage in Cana of Galilee, with inscriptions referring to the latter. He was indebted to Professor F. Pierrepont Barnard for its identification as commemorating the marriage of Albert, son of the Emperor Maximilian II, with Isabella, daughter of Philip II of Spain, 1599. Size of a thin crown-piece.

By Mr. Winter, for Mr. S. M. Spink :—A series of five portrait medals in silver of the famous Dutch Admiral, Marten Harpertzoon Tromp, who fell in the engagement with the English fleet, 31st of July, 1653. See *Medallic Illustrations*, I, numbers 402-32 ; 403-33 and 34 ; 404-35 and 36.

Oval portrait-medallion of Oliver Cromwell in bronze, and another of different style and smaller.

Bronze uniface portrait-medallion of Sir William Parkhurst, Warden of the Mint under James I and Charles I. See *Medallic Illustrations*, I, 311-140.

Four Spanish dollars countermarked George III, 4s. 9d., 4s. 9d., and 5s. 5d. respectively ; and seven varieties of Southampton tokens, in illustration of last paper.

By Mr. H. W. Taffs :—Half-groat by Nicholas Briot of Charles I, and a penny by Simon of Charles II in unusually brilliant condition.

Seventeenth-century tokens. “ John Curtis of Yarmouth, 1662,” of quaint design ; and “ At the King David, 1667,—in Northumberland Ally—her halfe penny. S.A.”

By Mr. Lionel L. Fletcher :—Five eighteenth-century tokens representing English sports ; and token-pennies of the nineteenth-century illustrating St. Michael's Mount, and Peel Castle, Isle of Man.

By Mr. R. Montagu Simon :—Seven china coins issued by the Government of Saxony in 1921.

Note issued by the Mechanics' Institute of Limerick during the strike of 1919.

### *Paper.*

#### THE TOKEN-COINAGE, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO SOUTHAMPTON.

Mr. William Dale, F.S.A., exhibited a large collection in both silver and copper of the token-coinage of the eighteenth to nineteenth

centuries, particularly that of Southampton ; and in his inimitable way discussed the political causes that induced, and the very human principles that ruled, these commercial issues. Describing the art and designs on many of the coins, he drew upon his extensive store of historic and legendary knowledge to tell stories of the numerous personages portrayed, which often were additional details to the accounts in our standard biographies. Bevois of Hampton, and of the Southampton tokens, very naturally came under the full light of alternate, but always impartial, criticism and legend ; but Mr. Dale passed on into curious anecdotes and tales of the vicissitudes of the token-issuers themselves, so varied that the interest of his audience never broke.

#### THE COUNCIL'S REPORT TO THE MEMBERS.

This, the twentieth Annual Report of the Council, has been somewhat hurriedly prepared by your President and approved by the Council, for submission to the Anniversary Meeting, in very sad circumstances. In accordance with long-established custom, the report is compiled by Mr. Andrew, and submitted and amended in Council just before the Meeting.

The terrible and tragic accident which occurred to Mr. and Mrs. Andrew at the end of last week, and resulted in so great a loss to the Secretary and the Society in the death of Mrs. Andrew, has necessarily prevented the compilation of the report by its usual author.

Mrs. Andrew was a Member who had earned the friendship and, we may almost say, the affection of everyone, and seldom missed our Meetings. Her loss will be greatly felt by her many friends, and our sympathies with Mr. Andrew in his hour of grief and injuries are heartfelt.

Another loss we sustained during the year was that of Sir Henry Hoyle Howorth, K.C.I.E., D.C.L., F.R.S., F.S.A., who was unanimously made an Honorary Member on his eightieth birthday on the 1st of July, 1922. He had been a Member of the Society since 1913, and had a great numismatic career ; and although he enjoyed the

freedom of the Society for but a short time, it is a melancholy satisfaction to us that he greatly appreciated its being conferred upon him, as was evinced by his letter of acknowledgment.

Five Members, to our deep regret, have died, and three have resigned during the year.

On the other hand, we have been glad to welcome the advent of the following fifteen new Members :—

Miss D. H. Andrews.	Mr. H. W. Stiles.
Mr. A. H. F. Baldwin.	Mr. J. Rochelle Thomas.
Mr. A. Leigh Barker, M.A.	The National Museum of Wales.
Mr. John Best.	Mr. Joseph W. Warne.
Mr. J. B. Caldecott.	Mr. Albert Wheeler.
The Rev. J. G. Knowles, M.A.	Mr. Arthur Whitehead.
Dr. Henry C. Mercer.	Mr. Arthur Crawford Wyman.
Mr. John A. Richards.	

So that the Society now consists of 18 Royal, 5 Honorary, and 342 Ordinary Members, and the Council hopes and thinks that a steady increase in our numbers will be maintained.

Your Council has the pleasure of adding to the original draft of this report that Mr. Grant R. Francis has presided over the Meetings on every occasion during the year ; and congratulates him upon the fact that the attendance at the May Meeting, when he read his paper on " Jacobite Drinking Glasses, and their Relation to the Jacobite Medals," was the best since, certainly, pre-war years.

The Treasurer, Sir William Wells, has given general satisfaction in his lucid reports and simplified form of accounts.

The Library, under the able direction of Mr. Parsons, has proved of increasing interest, and of easy access to all who wish to make use of it.

Volume XVI of the *Journal* was due at this Meeting, but, by reason of the Secretary's illness during the summer, its production to time proved impossible, although most of it is now in print ; and

your Council, with regret, has to ask the indulgence of Members for a few weeks' delay, but, subject to Mr. Andrew being able to complete it, we hope to distribute it in the early part of the new year.

The Council has from time to time announced with gratitude the financial help received from Mr. E. H. Wheeler, and wishes to permanently record his munificence on two occasions during the past year in its report. In January the President announced Mr. Wheeler's donation of £100 towards the cost of Volume XVI, which was of great assistance to the *Journal* funds; and in June Mr. Wheeler added a further gift of £100 upon the occasion of his son's becoming a Life Member of the Society.

Miss Farquhar, too, has given us a special donation of £10 towards the extra cost of her illustrations in the *Journal*, and Dr. R. T. Cassal, with his usual treble subscription, and Mr. Bagnall have also helped the Society. These gifts were duly acknowledged by votes of thanks in Council and General Meeting, and appear in the accounts.

Generous additions to our Library have been made from time to time, and acknowledged in our reports.

The attendance at Meetings has been very gratifying, and one or two specially interesting, as well as numismatically important, papers have marked the year under review.

To Mr. E. H. Wheeler and Mr. R. Montagu Simon our thanks are due for acting as Auditors of the Society's accounts, and to Mr. R. M. Simon and the Rev. J. G. Knowles for undertaking the duties of Scrutators at the double ballot to be held this evening for the Officers and Council, and the Sanford Saltus Medal.

In conclusion, we repeat our appeal to the Members generally to make known the aims and objects of the Society to all who will assist, even in a small way, in disseminating the knowledge and study of British historical numismatics. It is the hope and aim of the Council to bring the membership once more up to its maximum of 500, and, although this may be the work of some years, we confidently appeal for assistance to that end.

## MR. ANDREW'S ACKNOWLEDGMENT.

To the Members.

Lest any shadow of the past should darken our first Meeting of the new year, I take this means of expressing my lasting gratitude to you all for the beautiful tribute you have tendered to my dear Wife's memory; and for lightening the heavy burden of my sorrow by sharing it with me.

*The Journal.*

I would like to add that at the date of the accident Volume XVI was more than half in print, and the rest was nearly ready for our printers, so I had reason to hope that it would have been issued at the January Meeting. I should very much like to finish it, if I am able, but, in addition to my natural distress, I am still suffering severe effects of the accident, and unfit for any serious literary work.

Therefore, I will ask you to kindly allow me the month of January before I can decide whether I shall be able to continue the work, or not. If I can, then the volume shall be issued so soon as it is possible, for none regrets the delay more than

Your Secretary,

W. J. ANDREW.

The British Numismatic Society.

*Accounts of Sir William Wells, F.S.A., Hon. Treasurer.*

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDED NOVEMBER 18TH, 1923.

DR.

CR.

<i>Expenditure.</i>	£	s.	d.		<i>Income.</i>	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
To Printing and stationery ... ..	59	6	11		By Subscriptions received for 1923 ...	259	7	0				
„ Postages ... ..	14	17	0		„ Subscriptions received : Arrears,							
„ Expenses of Meetings, including rent to 29th September, 1923 ... ..	40	19	3		1922 ... ..	11	11	0				
„ Sundry expenses, including audit fee and Bank charges for transfer of stocks ... ..	10	3	0		„ Dividends and interest ... ..					270	18	0
„ Secretary's travelling expenses ... ..	52	10	0		„ Sale of back volumes ... ..					53	19	2
.. Balance being surplus at this date transferred to General Purposes Fund ... ..	360	14	6		„ Donations— Mr. E. H. Wheeler ... ..	200	0	0				
					Miss H. Farquhar ... ..	10	0	0				
					Dr. Cassal ... ..	2	2	0				
					Mr. A. E. Bagnall ... ..	1	1	0				
						213	3	0				
	<u>£538</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>8</u>							<u>£538</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>8</u>



## BALANCE SHEET, November 18th, 1923.

<i>Liabilities.</i>			<i>Assets.</i>		
£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
To Subscriptions received in advance		7 7 0	By Investments at cost or book value—		
„ Sundry creditors for expenses, since paid—			£109 18s. 5d. National War Bonds, 1927, 5 per cent. ...	100	0 0
Audit fee ... ..	5	5 0	£150 National War Bonds, 5 per cent., 1928 ... ..	150	0 0
Printing and stationery ...	6	12 6	£1,050 Consols, 2½ per cent....	577	10 0
Postages, etc. ... ..	4	7 1	£500 New South Wales 4 per cent. Stock, 1933 ... ..	503	4 6
Insurance ... ..	0	13 0	£213 1s. 1d. India 3½ per cent. Stock ... ..	200	0 0
Secretary's travelling expenses	26	5 0			
		43 2 7		1,530	14 6
„ The J. Sanford Saltus Medal Fund—			„ J. Sanford Saltus Medal Fund—		
Capital Account, per contra ...		161 16 2	£166 14s. 11d. India 3½ per cent. Stock, per contra ...	161	16 2
Income Account as at November 18th, 1922 ... ..	9	3 5			1,692 10 8
Dividends received during year to date ... ..	4	9 2	The market value of the above Investments at November 18th, 1923, was £1,569.		
		13 12 7	„ Library at cost—		
„ General Purposes Fund—			As at November 18th, 1922 ...	147	9 0
As at November 18th, 1922 ...	1,752	12 9	Additions during year ...	4	3 5
Add Surplus for year transferred from Income and Expenditure Account ...	360	14 6			151 12 5
		2,113 7 3	„ Cash at Bank ... ..		495 2 6
This Account includes the sum of £210 11s. 9d. balance of the account for 1922, which, with the surplus for this year, makes a total of £571 6s. 3d. available for payment of Volume XVI of the <i>Journal</i> , to be issued early in 1924.					
		£2,339 5 7			£2,339 5 7

## AUDITORS' REPORT.

We beg to report to the Members that we have obtained all the information and explanations we have required. Nothing has been reserved in the Accounts for the cost of Volume XVI of the *Journal*, and no credit has been taken for subscriptions in arrear.

We have examined the above Balance Sheet with the books and vouchers of the Society, and are of opinion that, subject to the above remarks, the same is properly drawn up so as to exhibit a true and correct view of the state of the Society's affairs according to the best of our information and the explanations given to us and as shown by the books of the Society.

Countersigned, E. H. WHEELER, R. M. SIMON.

26th November, 1923.

GILBERTS, HALLETT & EGLINGTON, Chartered Accountants,  
30, Throgmorton Street, E.C. 2.

# OFFICERS AND COUNCIL

SESSION 1924.

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## President.

GRANT R. FRANCIS.

## Vice-Presidents.

STANLEY BOUSFIELD, M.A., M.D.

WILLIAM DALE, F.S.A., F.G.S.

MISS HELEN FARQUHAR.

MAJOR W. J. FREER, V.D., D.L., F.S.A.

LIEUT.-COLONEL H. W. MORRIESON, F.S.A.

THE REV. EDGAR ROGERS, O.B.E., M.A.

## Director.

FREDERICK A. WALTERS, F.S.A.

## Treasurer.

SIR WILLIAM WELLS, F.S.A.

## Librarian.

H. ALEXANDER PARSONS.

## Secretary.

W. J. ANDREW, F.S.A.

## Council.

EDGAR M. BURNETT.

FRANK E. BURTON.

V. B. CROWTHER-BEYNON, M.B.E., M.A., F.S.A.

LIONEL L. FLETCHER.

LORD GRANTLEY, D.L., F.S.A.

L. A. LAWRENCE, F.R.C.S., F.S.A.

RICHARD C. LOCKETT, F.S.A.

WALTER L. POCOCK.

R. MONTAGU SIMON.

W. BERESFORD SMITH.

H. W. TAFFS, M.B.E.

MAJOR K. P. VAUGHAN-MORGAN, O.B.E., M.P.

FRANK WARREN.

ERNEST H. WHEELER.

CHARLES WINTER.

**Auditors.**

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- 1903-4. P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, D.L., F.S.A.
- 1905. P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, D.L., F.S.A.
- 1906. P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, D.L., F.S.A.
- 1907. P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, D.L., F.S.A.
- 1908. P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, D.L., F.S.A.
- 1909. W. J. ANDREW, F.S.A.
- 1910. P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, D.L., F.S.A.
- 1911. P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, D.L., F.S.A.
- 1912. P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, D.L., F.S.A.
- 1913. P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, D.L., F.S.A.
- 1914. P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, D.L., F.S.A.
- 1915. LIEUT.-COLONEL H. W. MORRIESON, R.A., F.S.A.
- 1916. LIEUT.-COLONEL H. W. MORRIESON, F.S.A.
- 1917. LIEUT.-COLONEL H. W. MORRIESON, F.S.A.
- 1918. LIEUT.-COLONEL H. W. MORRIESON, F.S.A.
- 1919. LIEUT.-COLONEL H. W. MORRIESON, F.S.A.
- 1920. FREDERICK A. WALTERS, F.S.A.
- 1921. FREDERICK A. WALTERS, F.S.A.
- 1922. J. SANFORD SALTUS—*till June 22nd.*
- 1922. GRANT R. FRANCIS—*from June 28th.*
- 1923. GRANT R. FRANCIS.
- 1924. GRANT R. FRANCIS.

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## The John Sanford Saltus Gold Medal.

This Medal is awarded by ballot of all the Members triennially "to the Member of the Society whose paper or papers appearing in the Society's publications shall receive the highest number of votes from the Members, as being in their opinion the best in the interests of numismatic science."

The Medal was founded by the late John Sanford Saltus, Officier de la Légion d'Honneur, of New York, a Vice-President of the Society, by the gift of £200 in the year 1910; and so that the triennial periods should be computed from the inauguration of the Society the Rules provided that the Medal should be awarded in the years 1910 and 1911, and thenceforward triennially.

### MEDALLISTS.

- 1910. P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton, D.L., F.S.A.
- 1911. Miss Helen Farquhar.
- 1914. W. J. Andrew, F.S.A.
- 1917. L. A. Lawrence, F.S.A.
- 1920. Lieut.-Colonel H. W. Morrieson, F.S.A.
- 1923. H. Alexander Parsons.



ORDINARY MEETING.

Wednesday, January 23rd, 1924.

Mr. GRANT R. FRANCIS, *President, in the Chair.*

The President read the correspondence and reported that Their Majesties the King and Queen of Denmark, and Their Royal Highnesses the Crown Prince and Crown Princess of Sweden, had honoured the Society by becoming Royal Members.

He further announced that Mr. Ernest H. Wheeler had given to Sir William Wells, F.S.A., their Honorary Treasurer, yet another cheque for £100 towards the revenue account of the Society; and moved a special vote of thanks to him for this most generous assistance, which was gratefully and unanimously passed.

THE JOHN SANFORD SALTUS TRIENNIAL GOLD MEDAL.

This medal, which had been awarded to Mr. H. Alexander Parsons by the ballot of the Members at the Anniversary Meeting on November 30th, was presented to him by the President, who said that his research in the difficult regions of Anglo-Saxon numismatics had received its just reward from the Society, and Mr. Parsons now joined the select and distinguished company of Saltus Medallists, with whom it was an honour for any numismatic author to be associated.

Mr. Parsons very modestly replied, and acknowledged the honour awarded to him by the Members.

*Presentations.*

By Mr. T. Hattori, the Society's representative in Japan :—  
A fine medallic plaque in bronze bearing the portrait, designed by Mr. S. Hata, of Dr. Y. Koga, with his name and office in Japanese below. The inscription on the reverse,

which it was interesting to notice was in English, was DR. YOSHIMASA KOGA F C S CHIEF OF THE OPERATIVE DEPARTMENT 43 YEARS IN THE SERVICE OF THE IMPERIAL JAPANESE MINT CHIEF ASSAYER FOR 35 YEARS 1923 in eleven lines across the field, the workmanship of Mr. I. Sato, Engraver to the Mint. This, as Mr. Hattori explained in his letter, was the eighth of a series of portrait medals issued from the Mint of Japan during the last twelve years. A vote of thanks, moved from the Chair, was passed for this interesting gift.

By Mr. Coleman P. Hyman :—"An Account of the Coins, Coinages, and Currency of Australia," by the donor.

*Medallic Exhibitions.*

By Mr. E. E. Needes :—Some medals of The Twenty-Third, The Royal Welch Fusiliers, namely,

Military General Service medals—

With clasp, Egypt—T. Trump, corporal.

With clasp, Martinique—George Lywood.

With 10 clasps, Corunna, Ciudad-Rodrigo, Badajoz, Salamanca, Vittoria, Pyrenees, St. Sebastian, Nivelle, Orthes, Toulouse—William Lockett.

With 11 clasps, Corunna, Albuhera, Ciudad-Rodrigo, Badajoz, Salamanca, Vittoria, Pyrenees, Nivelle, Nive, Orthes, Toulouse—Serjeant J. Ingham.

Waterloo medal to the same recipient.

Crimea, medal with 3 clasps, Alma, Inkerman, Sebastopol—C. O'Connor.

Indian Mutiny, medal with 2 clasps, Relief of Lucknow, Lucknow—Aaron Winter.

Ashantee, medal with 1 clasp, Coomassie—Private J. King.

Indian General Service medal, with 1 clasp, Burma, 1885-87—Private W. McGee.



South Africa, 1899-1902, medal with 4 clasps, Cape Colony, Tugela Heights, The Relief of Ladysmith, Transvaal—Private D. Rees.

China, 1900, medal with 1 clasp, Relief of Pekin—Private N. Padden.

Mr. Needes explained that medals for Egypt and Martinique were rare in this Regiment, and that for St. Sebastian particularly so, because The Twenty-Third was not represented at the siege except by those men who volunteered from it for the storming parties. Only two men were entitled to the Peninsular medal with the same combination of 11 clasps as that exhibited.

By Mr. Thomas K. Mackenzie :—A numerous and very interesting collection of military medals, and a gorget, presented to Indian Chiefs in North America. It was noticeable that the average size of the medals was unusually large and the presence of an official gorget unexpected.

By Mr. A. H. Baldwin :—Two beautiful badges in silver-gilt of Sir Richard Brown, 1644.

By Mr. P. J. D. Baldwin :—The very beautiful badge of Garter King of Arms about the close of the eighteenth century. Two groups of medals, each including the Victoria Cross. Mr. P. J. D. Baldwin exhibited and read a short paper upon a silver medal which had been erroneously attributed to the Anglo-Indian series of the eighteenth century, because the representation of Minerva upon it had been mistaken for that of Britannia, see *Tancred*, p. 219. It bore the legend NON NISI DIGNO MDCCLXVI, and was really a medal issued by the Minerva Lodge, Leipzig, founded in 1741.

By Mr. V. B. Crowther-Beynon :—A uniface counter in silver bearing the early portrait of Charles I by Nicholas Briot in relief.

By Mr. H. Alexander Parsons :—An example of the CVIVS EST medal of Prince James Stuart, cast and chased in copper gilt.

By Mr. Charles Winter :—A set of four silver-gilt badges showing the use of the same reverse design by both Charles I and his adversary, the Earl of Essex, namely,

Crowned bust of Charles I to right with outer legend  
 “Should hear both houses of parliamant for true  
 Religion and subjects fredom stand.” Reverse, the  
 two Houses of Parliament with the King and Speaker ;  
 wreath border. See *Medallic Illustrations*, I, p. 292,  
 No. 108.

Half-length figure, sword in hand, of the Earl of Essex  
 with SX above, and the same outer legend, and  
 same reverse as the preceding. *Ibid.*, p. 295, No. 113.

Similar to the last, but without the border.

Bust of the Earl, nearly full faced but no legends. Reverse,  
 his arms within an oval shield surmounted by a  
 coronet. *Ibid.*, p. 298, No. 117.

The gold badge of Sir Thomas Fairfax. *Ibid.*, p. 318,  
 No. 151.

These five badges were in unusually good state of  
 preservation.

By Mr. Frederick Bradbury of Sheffield :—Silver spoon with  
 the bust of Nelson over his signature for the handle and a  
 picture of the Victory embossed within the bowl, which  
 Mr. Bradbury had designed for sale in aid of the Victory  
 Fund.

A set of six old silver spoons bearing the hall-mark  
 for 1784–5, and a picture of the Royal George, sunk two  
 years before, embossed on the outside of the bowl, for  
 comparison with his design of the Victory.

A spoon commemorating the release from prison of  
 John Wilkes in 1763, by the design of a bird on the top of

its empty cage and the motto I·LOVE·LIBERTY· This design, the President remarked, occurred on drinking glasses of the period, with the motto *Wilkes and Liberty*. Probably its origin was to be found in the picture of Leonardo da Vinci releasing the caged birds.

By Mr. W. J. Andrew :—Example in copper-gilt and perfect state of the early Scottish medal, REGIT·VNVS·VTROQVE, of Charles I by Nicholas Briot.

Miniature of parian wax in high relief and beautiful work, signed AUG : CURIGER F: 9 IUIN 1811, and representing the charming bust of a babe in delicate lace cap, frills and frock, full faced and wearing several orders over its right shoulder: in original frame. Mr. E. E. Needes described it as a portrait of the titular "Napoleon II," only child of Napoleon and Maria Louisa of Austria, born March 20th, 1811, and therefore then not yet three months old. The orders he was wearing were those of the Iron Crown, and the Legion of Honour as Infant King of Rome. He was better known as the Duc de Reichstadt and died on July the 22nd, 1832.

### *The Paper.*

#### MILITARY MEDALS OF THE MID-SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

##### THE "SHREWSBURY MEDAL."

This paper, by Miss Helen Farquhar, was read by the President in the unavoidable absence, through indisposition, of the writer.

Miss Farquhar desired to draw the attention of those interested in the Civil-War medals of 1642-3 to a document ordering medals to be struck in gold for the Loyalists of the County of Salop, who had rallied to the King's banner at the beginning of the Civil War. This was directed to Sir William Parkhurst and Thomas Bushell, Wardens of the Mint at Oxford, under date "23 day of January, 1642-3," and commanded the distribution to "Our truehearted subjects from

Our County of Salop " of a more tangible reward than " Our verball thanks " for the loyalty they had displayed. " We have," wrote the King, " therefore caused Our own Royall Image with that of Our dearest Sonne, Prince Charles, to be impressed on a Medall of Gold and a Commemoration of his welldeservings to whom it is designed to be inscribed on the Reverse, whereby his Posterity may assume the glory That their Ancestor stood Loyall to their Sovereigne when the malignity of Rebellion had neere covered the face of this flourishing Kingdom."

This document, which had not hitherto been published in full, with its description of the two portraits appearing on one side of the medal and space on the reverse for a special inscription, suggested that the " Salop " medal could be none other than the uniface shell or cliché, with jugate busts of King and Prince. It is described in *Medallic Illustrations of British History* as a " Military Reward " and numbered 123. The double portrait was also used with a specially designed reverse representing the King's standard, on the medal presented, in June, 1643, to Sir Robert Welsh, or Walsh, who with Sir John Smith was knighted on the field of Edgehill in October, 1642, for recovering the Royal Banner from the enemy, and will be found under the number 124 in the above-mentioned work.

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#### ORDINARY MEETING.

*Wednesday, February 27th, 1924.*

MR. GRANT R. FRANCIS, *President, in the Chair.*

#### *Presentations to the Library.*

By Mr. Harrold Edgar Gillingham of Philadelphia :—" Italian Orders and Medals of Honour."

By Messrs. Spink and Son :—" Biographical Dictionary of Medallists," Supplement, A to L; by L. Forrer.

*Exhibitions.*

By Mr. J. O. Manton :—British stater of the uninscribed series, weighing 96 grains. It was dug up recently during road construction in Derby, and was similar to that found at Loughborough in 1844, illustrated A, No. 11, in "The Coins of the Ancient Britons," by the late Sir John Evans.

By Mr. William C. Wells :—A series of coins of Edred and Edgar, by the moneyer Thurferth, raising the inference that the mint-names *Han*, and *Ham*, were used for Northampton at that period.

By Mr. F. A. Walters :—Henry IV. Two pennies of the heavy coinage and London mint, from the Highbury hoard and Neck and Webb collections. Obverse **✠ HENRIC • D • G REX ANGL • R •**, reverse **ANITVS LONDON**, 18 grains and 14 grains. Mr. Walters explained that two other specimens only were known, one from the Rashleigh sale, and the other in the National Collection.

By Miss Helen Farquhar :—A collection of silver plaques engraved by Simon van de Passe and in beautiful state, representing, Elizabeth ; James I bareheaded ; James I in hat ; Prince Charles, afterwards Charles I, with reverse, arms ; Prince Charles, with reverse, equestrian portrait ; Frederick of Bohemia with his wife Elizabeth, daughter of James I, and their son Prince Frederick Henry ; Henry IV of France and Marie de Medici.

By Mr. Walter L. Pocock :—Medal in silver of the child "Napoleon II, King of Rome," with portraits of his parents Napoleon and Maria Louisa of Austria on the reverse. Exhibited in relation to the portrait in wax shown by Mr. Andrew at the last Meeting.

By Mr. W. J. Andrew :—"Jessop's Sketches of British Coins," being careful reproductions by hand of all the plates in the first edition of *Hawkins*, by Arthur Jessop, 1853-1854 ; mounted in an elaborate album.

By Mr. Lionel L. Fletcher :—Astronomical medal showing the solar system, signs of the zodiac, etc. Probably engraved by Ottley.

By Mr. A. E. Bagnall :—An interesting series of ten proofs, patterns and "mules" from the guinea of 1791 to a "muled" threepence of 1868.

By Mr. Frank E. Burton :—The series of crown, halfcrown, shilling and sixpence, also proofs silver-plated, gilt, and copper, of the Arnold tokens of 1791. Mr. Burton read a short paper, which is illustrated and printed in this volume of the *Journal*, in which he corrected the error in the location hitherto accepted for their actual issue.

### *Lecture.*

## A NUMISMATIC HISTORY OF THE REIGN OF STEPHEN.

### THE ORNAMENT SERIES OF YORK—*continued.*

Mr. W. J. Andrew, F.S.A., continued<sup>1</sup> his review of the above series. Ornaments in the legends of coins were not peculiar to York, he said, for they occurred on coins of the Durham mint, and upon continental money of the period. He had been able to trace back several of the curious designs of these ornaments to stamps similarly impressed by punches upon the burial urns of the earliest Saxon invaders, and no doubt intended in their mystic symbolism as a protection against the evil spirits of the dead. Therefore it

<sup>1</sup> From *Proceedings*, October 25th, 1922, and October 24th, 1923. These lectures are reported more fully than usual because they are in advance of the next few chapters of the *History*, and will there be treated chronologically.

was not improbable that in the twelfth century they still retained a superstitious sanctity which would act as a deterrent against mutilation by clipping. But the substitution of ornaments for letters in the legend of money was only practicable when the design itself, as was the case in the series under review, sufficiently disclosed the mint and authority responsible for the legality and purity of the issue.

The mint at York was entitled to three dies, one for the King, and two for the Archbishop; and for reasons which he had given the lecturer believed that Archbishop Thurstan, as "Lieutenant of the North," had initiated this medallic series to commemorate his victory of the Standard in 1138. He therefore converted the usual sceptre of the King into a representation of the Standard on the obverse, and contracted a thanksgiving to St. Peter into the legend on the reverse, *Hawkins* 271, for the design of his money from the two dies; but the King's moneyer would probably then continue the ordinary regal issue, *Hawkins* 270.

The aged Archbishop died in February, 1140, and Stephen, following the usual course, appointed a sequestrator of the see. Mr. Andrew believed that the sequestrator appointed was Robert de Stutville, because he had been Sheriff of Yorkshire in 1120 and probably many times since; also, whilst others were rewarded with earldoms and honours for their prowess in the Battle of the Standard, he, who is expressly mentioned in the despatches of the chroniclers, received nothing unless it was this very lucrative appointment. The lecturer read an original manuscript record and pedigree of the sixteenth century which identified this Robert de Stutville of York with the Robert d'Estoteville the younger who, as recorded by Ordericus, was taken prisoner by Henry I at the siege of Dive in 1106, and died before the close of the reign of Stephen. As before explained, he was closely allied with Eustace FitzJohn through the marriage of his daughter with the latter's son. This alliance, Mr. Andrew believed, accounted for the mysterious abandonment of the siege of Eustace's Castle of Malton after the Battle of the Standard, and the peaceful reception into York in May, 1141, of



its lord, although Eustace had been leader of the English section of David of Scotland's invading army in the battle.

As Sequestrator, Robert de Stutville would continue the issue of the deceased Archbishop's money—the "flag type"—from the two ecclesiastical dies, but in the following January Stephen, with his brother Henry, Bishop of Winchester and now Papal Legate, appointed their nephew William FitzHerbert, Treasurer of York, to be the new Archbishop, but the appointment was strenuously opposed in the chapter. It would be now that from one of the archiepiscopal dies *Hawkins*, type 278 would be issued, for it depicts Stephen as holding a sceptre surmounted by the silver pyx containing the Host, which the chroniclers tell us was borne at the head of the standard in the battle; but from the other ecclesiastical die *Hawkins*, type 271 was probably continued, although there was a type which he, Mr. Andrew, thought might possibly replace that. Meanwhile the type similar to *British Museum Catalogue*, Plate LIX, No. 7, but with the King's name in full, would be the issue from the regal die. This coin, and its successor, read on the reverse **✠ WI • S D • GNET • A**, interspersed with the York ornaments, which suggested **Willelmus DE GNET A** for William of Ghent, *Aurifaber*, probably a wealthy Flemish citizen of York, but he admitted that two other, and more interesting, interpretations were possible, but this seemed the most natural. Gilbert de Ghent, grandson of that Gilbert de Ghent who brought over the Flemings to York in the train of William's Queen at the Conquest, was yet another of the leaders in the victory of the Standard.

Then followed the downfall of King Stephen at the instance of the Earl of Chester at the Battle of Lincoln on February 2nd, 1141. There was no king; and the lecturer believed that the two coins, *Hawkins* type 279 and *British Museum Catalogue* No. 15, but from different dies, were now issued from the two ecclesiastical dies in the name of Henry the Bishop of Winchester, as Legate of the Church, as Stephen's brother, and as, for the moment, head of the royal party; whilst the regal die was merely jumbled so that Stephen's name ceased to be readable as King, and No. 7 of the *Catalogue* resulted.

It would be during Stephen's captivity only, and therefore between February and November, 1141, that any members of his party would be likely to issue money in their own names, or indeed in any name other than that of the king. Therefore the coins, *Hawkins* 280, which read **\*RODBERTUS DE STV** and presented an equestrian portrait of Robert de Stutville with drawn sword, must have quickly superseded No. 7 of the *Catalogue*, and been issued by him from the regal die as Lieutenant of the North, and probably Sheriff of Yorkshire, before the end of May. They represented two pairs of dies, so that it was possible that he ignored the customary limitation.

Towards the end of May David of Scotland came southward in force through Durham and York on his way to join Matilda, the Empress, in London for her intended coronation on June 24th. He was accompanied by Eustace FitzJohn, military leader of the party of the Empress in the North, and now in right of his second wife, heiress of the Fitz Nigels of Malton, hereditary Constable to the Earl of Chester, the real victor at Lincoln; and the coins prove that Eustace immediately took over the sequestration and government of York, issuing the "lion" types, *Hawkins* 282, and LX, No. 10 of the *Catalogue*, from the archiepiscopal dies in sequestration, and the "armed-figure" type, *Hawkins* 283 and 631, from the regal die, or dies, as Lieutenant of the North, and "Protector" of York. As he had treated these coins at the October Meeting, Mr. Andrew merely added that the legend on the reverse of No. 631, **\*TOMAS FILIUS VLF** was more likely to represent a son of Ulf, the contemporary moneyer of York who had been coining there since about 1128, than Thomas Fitz-Ulviet, Alderman of the York Guild of Merchants of the 1130 Pipe Roll. Nothing could be more typical of the military occupation of York than this armed portrait of the Earl of Chester's Constable holding the drawn sword of state before him, and the badge of York hanging from his girdle. The series issued by Eustace probably continued from June, 1141, to Easter, 1142.

Stephen was released, and restored in the eastern counties of England, in November, 1141, and in the Lent of 1142 advanced in

force northward on his way to York. At Stamford he was met by the four chief leaders of the party of the Empress in the Midlands and North, the Earls of Warwick, Lincoln, and Chester, and Eustace FitzJohn, who came to terms and made their peace with him. Thence Stephen continued his military procession to York, where he and his Queen Matilda kept Easter in state. Then it would be that the "two-figure" type, *Hawkins* 281, would be issued in their joint honour, which Mr. Andrew believed closed the ornament series.

He offered technical evidence from the coins themselves to support the chronological sequence suggested; by linking them together by the use of the same punches for the dies of successive types, by the similarity of certain of the designs, by the introduction and gradual disappearance of the legends and particularly of certain of the ornaments, and the change in form of certain letters. For instance, the monogram **Ð**, for **DE**, of LIX, No. 7 of the *Catalogue*, appeared with its accompanying ornament and the same letter **Ϣ** on *Hawkins* 278, the new letter **α** occurred on the coins of Robert and Eustace only, and the monogram **ᚠ**, for **TH**, on that of the latter must be compared with the **Ð**.

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## ORDINARY MEETING.

*Wednesday, March 26th, 1924.*

MR. GRANT R. FRANCIS, *President, in the Chair.*

The President announced that Their Majesties the King and Queen of Sweden had honoured the Society by accepting Royal Membership, and that both they and the Crown Prince and Crown Princess of Sweden had kindly signed and returned the Royal Roll which he had duly forwarded to them.

Mr. Joseph Bles, Mr. A. B. Chapman, Mr. Hamilton Clements, Mr. Joseph Ford, Mr. Edmund Parsons, and Mrs. W. H. Tribute were elected Members.

*Exhibitions.*

By Mr. H. Alexander Parsons :—The series of coins of Canute in illustration of his lecture.

By Miss H. Farquhar :—Six coins of the same reign.

By Mr. V. B. Crowther-Beynon :—The following trade tokens of the seventeenth century, being variants from, or additions to the published lists, with references to Williamson's edition of Boyne's "Seventeenth-Century Trade Tokens":—

1. Winchcombe, Gloucestershire.

\* GEORGE · SKINER · IN | \* WINCHCOM · 1657

Obverse design, a man making candles. Williamson 214. Reverse, G.E.S. in the centre. Williamson 217.

2. Southwark.

\* AT · THE · COCKE · IN · LONG | \* LANE · IN · SOVTHWARKE

Obverse design, a cock, the sign of the inn. Reverse, I.S.H. in the centre.

3. Presteign, Radnorshire.

\* IOSEPH · GRONNOVS · IN | \* PRESTEEN · COVNTY ·  
RADNOR | HIS HALF PENY in the centre.

Obverse design, the Grocers' arms.

4. Uncertain, Williamson 38.

WILLIAM · HALL | PAINES · BRINGS · GAINES

Obverse design, an orb surmounted by a cross, within a tressure. Reverse, the Mercers' arms. Williamson's description of the curious details of the token described by him apply equally well to this example.

By Mr. H. W. Taffs :—A trial striking for a medallic head of Queen Victoria in the early years of her reign. The signature on the truncation seemed to be J.B.

*Lecture.*

THE ANGLIAN COINS OF CANUTE, A.D. 1016–1035.

Speaking from notes, Mr. H. Alexander Parsons, under this heading, continued his treatise on the coins of the later Anglo-Saxon kings, for which he had recently been awarded the Saltus medal ; and after reviewing the salient events of the period, and the classifications of Canute's coins in our text-books, showed that an inordinately large number of types had hitherto been allocated to this reign of nineteen years, rising, in the case of the British Museum Catalogue of Anglo-Saxon coins, to twenty types. He attributed this multiplication of issues to three main reasons : 1. Scandinavian issues or imitations, such as those described as Hildebrand, types C and D. 2. Assays or patterns, such as Hildebrand, type F. 3. Unauthorised issues, such as Hildebrand, types A and B. Eliminating these issues, together with certain muled coins which had been given the rank of substantive types, Mr. Parsons reduced the entire series of coins to five distinct issues, or types, only, which he placed in the following chronological order :—

Type 1.	Hildebrand, E :	Hawkins, 212 :	Museum Catalogue, VIII.
„ 2.	„ G	„ 213	„ „ XIV.
„ 3.	„ H	„ 208	„ „ XVI.
„ 4.	„ I	„ 209	„ „ XVII.
„ 5.	„ K	„ 211	„ „ XX.

In arriving at this sequence of the types he explained that he had used the ordinary means afforded by the evidence of hoards, mules, designs, and inscriptions ; but stated that he had not attached much value to the first two factors, and after the initial issue, there was only one mule known of the coins of Canute, and that not one of two consecutive issues. The designs afforded evidence of the late

issue of types 4 and 5, whilst the inscriptions on the obverse, which in this reign showed transition from the invariable use of the territorial title to its exclusion, afforded evidence of the position and order of types 1 and 2, as did the transition of the word MO to ON with their respective modifications, in the reverse legends. The sequence of the middle types was indicated by the change in the form of some of the letters, notably s to  $\varsigma$ , and  $\epsilon$  to  $\varepsilon$ . In addition to these usual methods of test, Mr. Parsons brought under notice certain special features, such as the imitations of Anglo-Saxon coins minted in Dublin, as evidence of the date of Canute's first type; and the presence of symbols and double names on the coins. Double names in the reverse inscriptions, he believed, superseded the symbols in this reign, and thus clearly proved the sequence in the order given above.

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### ORDINARY MEETING.

*Wednesday, April 23rd, 1924.*

MR. GRANT R. FRANCIS, *President, in the Chair.*

Mr. Ferris P. Merritt, of New York, was elected to membership.

#### *Presentation to the Library.*

By Messrs. Spink and Son :—The thirty-first volume, 1923, of their *Numismatic Circular*.

A vote of thanks was passed to Messrs. Spink for the continued annual gift in bound form of this interesting and profusely illustrated series.

*Exhibitions.*

By Mr. Ernest H. Wheeler :—A series of eleven silver pennies of Canute, illustrating the unusual and interesting variations of the reign ; with references to the British Museum *Catalogue* for the types.

Type I.— $\omega$  before the king's face on the obverse, and a pellet in two of the angles of the reverse cross.

II.—Shrewsbury mint.

VIII.—With large oval pellet in one quarter of the reverse cross, and of the mint believed by Hildebrand to be Retford but corrected by Major Carlyon-Britton to Hertford in the sixth volume of the Society's *Journal*, pages 35–36.

X.—Exeter mint.

XIV.—Lincoln mint.  $\ast$  before the bust on the obverse, and the usual broken annulets on the reverse replaced with solid pellets of similar form.

XIV.—Variety *A*. London mint. Of this variety one example only was known to Hildebrand and it was of the same mint ; but another, of the York mint, was in the British Museum.

XVI.—Oxford mint. Of this variety only three examples, one of London and two of Norwich, were recorded by Hildebrand.

XVI.—Of the Lincoln mint, but sceptre pommée.

XVII.—Thetford mint. The sceptre fleury held by the left hand, as plate xix, figure 2.

XVII.—Variety *A*. Oxford mint. The sceptre pommée not held at all. Hildebrand records only two examples of this variety, both of London.



Type XIX.—Aylesbury mint, formerly attributed to Harthacnut, but believed by Mr. Parsons, volume XI, page 25 of the Society's *Journal*, to be of this reign.

By Mr. F. A. Walters :—Charles II. Half-crown by Simon of the first issue of the hammered coinage, without numerals of value. Half-crown by Simon of the second issue, with the numerals and without the inner circle.

By Mr. H. W. Taffs :—An unrecorded seventeenth-century token of Exton, Rutland. Obverse THOMAS EDMONDS = arms ; reverse, OF · EXTON = T. I. E.

### *Papers.*

#### WAS THERE A MINT AT NORTHAMPTON IN ANGLO-SAXON TIMES ?

Mr. William C. Wells continued his claims for the reattribution of the coins reading HĀMTVN for their mint-name from Southampton to Northampton, and instanced the evidence of the moneyer Baldric.

The name Baldric, he said, appeared upon our money from the time of Athelstan to that of Edgar, but only at this debatable mint and at Bedford upon those types that bore any place-names at all. This fact suggested the double presumption that the name represented the same moneyer, and that both mints were in Mercia. The coins were few, but he exhibited three and described five others. Of the three, one was of the small-cross type of Edgar, and read +BALDRIC MONETA · Ñ · AM. It was illustrated as lot 1039 in the Carlyon-Britton sale catalogue of 1916, and there described as "the only known coin of this king which can be attributed with certainty to Northampton." Another was of Edred and illustrated in the same catalogue as lot 1002, being similar in type to Ruding xx, 23. It read BĀLDR | IC MOE, for Baldric *monetarius*, and had the letter S, reversed, in the field of the obverse, a symbol which, Mr. Wells thought, would be admitted as peculiar to the coins of Mercia. If these two examples were compared, for instance, with the reading +BALDRIC M-O HĀMTV on that of Edgar's type VI in the British

Museum the case for Northampton seemed to him complete. The paper is printed in this volume.

“ THE CYCLE.”

The President, Mr. Grant R. Francis, exhibited the original minute-book of the famous Jacobite Society, known as “The Cycle,” a privilege for which he was indebted to Mr. V. B. Crowther-Beynon and to the latter’s relatives, Mr. and Miss Elwes, of Gwernhayled, where many of its meetings were held. “The Cycle” he said was instituted on the 10th of June, 1710, the twenty-second birthday of Prince James, the Jacobite titular “King James III,” by the Stuart partisans in North Wales and Cheshire; and after reading its rules and explaining the leading part it played in the vicissitudes of a losing cause in England, he came to the time when it abandoned politics for more peaceful and social attractions. This seems to have been marked by the election of the Dowager Lady Williams-Wynn, of Wynnstay, as Patroness, on February 14th, 1780, and to have been followed by the interesting resolution of February 5th, 1781, duly recorded in the minutes as

Mr. Eyton’s Cycle. It was proposed by Mr. Eyton, seconded by Mr. Aldersey, and assented to *nem. con.*, that the Members of the Cycle present their worthy Patroness Lady Dowager Williams Wynn with a Medal to be struck and mounted in an elegant manner, and desire that she will do them the honour to wear it as a mark of their esteem and respect.

Mr. Francis then exhibited a drawing in colour of this very elaborate medal or badge, and other drawings and illustrations of interest; reminding Members, as he had explained to them last May, that the word *Fiat* on the Jacobite drinking glasses was the “word” of “The Cycle,” and that the original bowl for the water over which “the King’s health” was drunk was still preserved at Wynnstay.

The medal will be illustrated when the paper appears in full in the *Journal*.

ORDINARY MEETING.

Wednesday, May 28th, 1924.

MR. GRANT R. FRANCIS, *President, in the Chair.*

*Presentations.*

By the Director of the British Museum :—" A Guide to the Exhibition of Historical Medals in the British Museum."

By Mr. Charles Winter :—A medallic plaque in bronze commemorating The British Empire Exhibition, 1924, designed by the Donor and modelled by Mr. F. Bowcher.

*Exhibitions.*

Jacobite and Stuart medals and relics, including the following :—

By Miss Helen Farquhar in illustration of her paper :—A numerous series of the medals and prints portraying Prince Charles Edward and his father Prince James.

A beautiful locket in enamelled gold and pearls containing Prince Charles's hair, and sent by him from France to Flora Macdonald after his escape in 1746.

A roughly enamelled ornament copied from Sir Robert Strange's print of the Prince in Highland dress.

Halfpenny of William and Mary engraved " Prince Charles for Ever."

By Mr. A. H. Baldwin :—Uniface medal of Prince Charles Edward, or proof of the obverse die for a medal, in tin, diameter one and nine-sixteenths of an inch. The design is similar to that of the Amor-et-spes medal, but the English motto LOOK LOVE AND FOLLOW is substituted for the

Prince's name and title. No such medal had been preserved, and this proof was the sole evidence of its existence or even intention in our historical series. In view of Miss Farquhar's paper it was of special interest.

By the President, Mr. Grant R. Francis :—Three portraits of the Prince.

By Mr. S. M. Spink :—A series of thirteen medals of the Prince, noticeable for the beauty of their condition. The references are to *Medallic Illustrations*, volume 2.

MICAT INTER OMNES, in silver and bronze ; 492-34.

This medal was issued in 1729 when the Prince was eight years old.

HVNC SALTEM EVERSO IVVENEM, 1729, bronze ; 493-35.

CAROLUS WALLIÆ PRINCEPS, 1745, reverse BRITANNIA AMOR ET SPES, three examples in silver, both sizes, and bronze ; 600-251.

REVIRESCIT, 1750, "The Medal of the Oak," in silver and bronze, a third example, in silver, had a loop for suspension ; 655-359.

SEMPER ARMIS NUNC ET INDUSTRIA, 1750, bronze ; 656-360.

REDEAT MAGNUS ILLE GENIUS BRITANNIÆ, 1752, silver ; 670-380.

Prince Charles's marriage medal, 1772, in silver and bronze.

By Mr. F. A. Walters :—Silver medal of Pope Benedict XIV, 1743, with reverse the monument in St. Peter's to Maria Clementina styled Queen of Great Britain. Also the MICAT INTER OMNES medal in bronze.

By Mr. Charles Winter :—The Duke of Cumberland's gold medal of 1746, by Yeo, awarded to Lieut.-General Wren of the 46th Regiment.

By Mr. W. J. Andrew :—A series of sixteen medals issued by or for the Jacobite Princes in exile, including an example of the MICAT INTER OMNES medal in bronze with plain edge.

Memorial ring, enamelled in gold and enclosing a lock of the auburn hair of the unfortunate Princess Elizabeth, second daughter of Charles I, who died a state prisoner at Carisbrooke Castle in 1650, aged fifteen years. It was inscribed ELIZABETH 2d DAUGHTER | OF Y<sup>e</sup> LATE KING CHARLES | DECE<sup>d</sup> SEPT 8<sup>th</sup> MDCL, and was worn by the Prince Consort at the unveiling in 1856 of Marochetti's monument to her memory erected by Queen Victoria in Newport Church, Isle of Wight.

By Mr. Thomas G. Barnett :—Silver dessert spoon, hall-marked York, 1679–80, by Thomas Mangy, into the trifid end of which some anti-Jacobite had, at a later date, set a two-penny piece of William and Mary. Also a pair of Stuart spoons, of 1669–70, beautifully worked in silver gilt.

General :—

By Mr. Walters :—Silver penny of Æthilheard, Archbishop of Canterbury, 790–803, and Coenwulf, King of Mercia, 794–818. Obverse +ÆILHEARD AR with EP, retrograde, as the central design, for AEILHEARD ARchiEPiscopus, but the E of EP was of minuscule character; reverse +COENVVLF REX, with m, for Mercia, in the centre. Compare *Ruding*, xiii, 4.

By Mr. Winter :—Eight bronze plaques illustrating London in 1924.

*Paper.*PORTRAIT-MEDALS OF PRINCE CHARLES EDWARD STRUCK BETWEEN  
THE YEARS 1745 AND 1752.

Under this heading Miss Helen Farquhar in a very interesting paper called attention to evidence in the Stuart Papers which suggested that certain medals which had hitherto been attributed to Thomas Pingo were ordered by Prince Charles from Charles Norbert Roettiers in France. The correspondence disclosing this proved that Charles Norbert Roettiers had prepared dies for a medal which, according to other evidence, was of the "Amor et Spes" design, but that the permission of Louis XV would be required before the issue could be struck, because Roettiers was an official of the French Mint. The political situation having become strained in 1748 Charles was finally compelled to leave France, but, as payments were made to Roettiers for striking medals, this permission would seem to have been granted, but the artist's initials, as to which a question was raised in one of Charles's letters, were apparently omitted.

The attribution to Pingo had been based upon evidence published in the middle of the last century in "Notes and Queries," which disclosed that the accounts of the Jacobite Club in London, known as The Society of the Oak, included payments to "Mr. Pingo" for striking medals which had been identified with that known as "The Medal of the Oak" distributed to the members of the Club in 1750. Although not so stated in the accounts, the frequent payments to Thomas Pingo for striking raised the inference that he also made the dies; and the likeness in technique of these Oak, or REVIRESCIT, medals to those bearing the motto AMOR ET SPES warranted a tentative ascription of the latter also to this artist.

Miss Farquhar now suggested that not only were the latter medals the work of Roettiers but also the reverse die and possibly the head-puncheon from which Pingo struck the Oak medals. Being, however, for the political reasons already given, unwilling to assume public responsibility for the design, Roettiers would seem to have

substituted for his usual initials on the reverse die the symbol or cipher of a rock, perhaps the rebus *rots* for Roettiers, that had already appeared upon the Amor-et-Spes medal. She was indebted to Mr. Andrew for calling her attention to this interesting symbol upon both issues, and to other evidences of identity in the technique of the two medals. These facts strengthened the case for attributing both to one artist, and the present evidence from the Stuart Papers indicated that this artist was almost certainly Charles Norbert Roettiers.

The other medals bearing the head of the Prince were inferior in both portraiture and workmanship and probably copies by another hand. The charge in the Oak Society's accounts for making one die might have been necessitated by some breakage, or Pingo might have made the obverse die from the Roettiers puncheon. But Miss Farquhar inclined to the view that if the Amor-et-Spes and the Oak medals were to be thus transferred to Roettiers, the large medal with the similar design but differing inscription and of inferior execution might be assigned to Thomas Pingo. (The paper is printed in this volume.)

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## ORDINARY MEETING.

*Wednesday, June 25th, 1924.*

MR. GRANT R. FRANCIS, *President, in the Chair.*

### *Exhibitions.*

Illustrative of Mr. Crowther-Beynon's paper:—

By Mr. V. B. Crowther-Beynon:—Coin-weights to check the Portuguese money circulating in England in the eighteenth century.

By Mr. L. A. Lawrence:—A series of modern forgeries in good silver of the half-crown and florin.



General :—

By Mr. W. J. Andrew :—Silver penny of Henry I ; obverse **HENRICVS REX**, reverse **ÆVEÆRARD • ON • EV**, York. The diesinker seemed to have mistaken the first three letters in the moneyer Everard's name for that of the mint and had therefore added the usual initial cross. This suggested that the officials worked by the eye rather than education.

By Mr. Edmund Parsons :—Half groat of Edward IV, of the Canterbury mint recently found at Andover.

By Mr. L. L. Fletcher :—A series of fourteen ferry tokens.

#### *Notes.*

Mr. E. J. French contributed an account of the recent discovery of a hoard of Tudor silver coins upon the farm of Mr. Robert Craigie at Harristown, St. Margaret's, County Dublin. It comprised about a hundred English shillings and sixpences of the reigns of Edward VI and Elizabeth, but mainly of the latter. So far as Mr. French had been able to ascertain, the coins did not add any varieties to the published lists.

Mr. William C. Wells, in support of his contention that the Anglo-Saxon and Norman series of coins bearing the mint-name *Hamton* should be removed to Northampton, whilst that with the name *Hamwic* should be left to Southampton, and coins bearing the contraction Ham-, which is common to both names, should be classified so far as possible by the identification of their moneyers, exhibited three coins of the reign of Eadwig. These he read respectively as BOIA MO HÆM, VVÆRIN MO HÆM, and HILDVLF MO HAN, the last three letters being inverted ; and he showed by comparison with coins of the immediately preceding and succeeding reigns that these moneyers were more likely to be Mercian than Wessex. For instance, the name Boia or Boiga

occurred under Athelstan at Chester and Derby, under Eadwig at Bedford, but under Eadgar at Chester, Canterbury and Wilton. On some coins of Eadwig the letter M appeared in the field of Boia's issues.

*Paper.*

AN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY COIN-CLIPPER.

Mr. V. B. Crowther-Beynon, M.B.E., F.S.A., read a paper with this title, which was based on a numismatic curiosity, which had recently come into his possession, namely, a shilling of William III wrapped in a paper bearing the inscription "Shill<sup>s</sup> milld by Mr. Guests Engine 15<sup>th</sup> Octo<sup>r</sup> 1767 who was executed the day before for filing and milling Guineas." He had succeeded in finding the full report of Guest's trial at the Old Bailey, in September, 1767, and was therefore able to bring before the Members not only an example of the clipping, but the evidence in the case which convicted the clipper. Such offences against the coinage were made high treason and punishable by death under a series of Acts in the reigns of William III and Anne, and so continued until 1832, when the death penalty for these crimes was abolished. It appeared that Guest was a "teller" in the Bank of England, and suspicion was first directed against him by a bank colleague who observed that Guest, when paying over cash to customers, was in the habit of taking part of the gold coins required for the purpose, out of a bag in his drawer. On the 4th of July a customer who had just received thirty guineas from Guest, was interrogated and the money examined, when some of the coins were found to be of short weight and to bear an apparently new milling. Under a search warrant, an examination of Guest's house was made, when various tools and appliances suitable for the commission of the offence in question, were discovered, together with a considerable quantity of gold filings. A workman from the Royal Mint was called as a witness, and with the aid of Guest's "engine" was able to apply to some guineas a milling which was indistinguishable from that on the guineas to

which the charge related. A jeweller, who on several occasions had sold gold ingots on Guest's behalf, also gave evidence against the prisoner. The only witnesses, apart from those as to character, called for the defence were some makers of scientific instruments and clocks, who expressed their opinion that Guest's apparatus would be equally useful for purposes connected with their own trade.

The prisoner was sentenced to death, and a brief account, extracted from the *Gentleman's Magazine*, of his subsequent execution at Tyburn, was given. Unfortunately no description of the machine employed by Guest was present in the report of the trial. It seemed clear that it was a mechanical contrivance of an effective kind, and an examination of the William III shilling exhibited revealed the very fine quality of the milling, although it differed from that on the contemporary guineas of the period, in consisting of straight, instead of the usual curved, lines. This difference, however, would not be noticeable, except under a very close inspection, and it was evident that Guest had been able to carry on his nefarious practices for some considerable time, without detection.

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### ORDINARY MEETING.

*Wednesday, October 22nd, 1924.*

MR. GRANT R. FRANCIS, *President, in the Chair.*

The President read the names of the Officers and Council nominated for the ensuing year, and at his instance Mr. R. Montagu Simon and Mr. Lionel L. Fletcher were appointed Auditors of the accounts, and Mr. H. Alexander Parsons and Mr. H. W. Taffs Scrutators of the ballot.

*Presentations to the Library.*

By Mons. Adolphe Dieudonné, *Les Monnaies Françaises*, by the donor.

By Messrs. Sotheby Wilkinson and Hodge, the series of their *Numismatic Sale Catalogues*, priced and named, for the year.

*Exhibitions.*

In illustration of Mr. Andrew's lecture :—

By Mr. F. A. Walters :—The silver penny of the Empress Matilda illustrated plate lxi, no. 4, of the British Museum *Catalogue* ; and an unpublished example of the type there illustrated as nos. 7 and 8 of plate lviii, but reading on the reverse **✠W . . . . . NT.**

By Mr. E. H. Wheeler :—Penny similar to the last, reading **✠SANSVN O ANTOI.**

By Mr. Thomas G. Barnett :—An unusually well struck example of Stephen's first type by **✠PIBERT ON GOPE**, Gloucester.

By Mr. H. Alexander Parsons :—Varieties of the same type of Leicester and Ipswich, with tiny annulets at the base of the fleurs of Stephen's crown ; of York, with the head of a crozier at the commencement of the reverse legend ; and of Hereford, of Angevin character.

By Mr. William C. Wells :—A series of pennies struck by the moneyer **PAIEN:**, **PAEN:**, or **PAEN:**, **ON : NORHAM**, or **RAMTV**, and an imitation of the period reading **✠PIIEII : ON : IINTIA :** for **✠PAEN : ON : ANTIA :** the Northampton moneyer.

General :—

By Mr. H. W. Taffs :—Sixpence of Elizabeth, dated 1601 and in unusually fine state for hammered money.

By Mr. William Dale :—A shilling of Charles I of light weight.

By Mr. V. B. Crowther-Beynon :—A seventeenth-century token of Bristol, diamond shaped, with the arms upon a shield ; which was a combination not previously recorded.

*Paper.*

SOME MONEYERS, MINTS, AND COINS OF THE REIGN OF STEPHEN.

Mr. W. J. Andrew, F.S.A., commenced what he hoped would be a series of addresses under the above title with the mints of :—

**Carlisle, Corbridge, and Newcastle.** His attribution to Corbridge had been questioned, and the inclusion of Newcastle as a mint at this period had not previously been suggested. The discovery of rich silver mines near Carlisle in 1128 had been followed immediately by the institution of a mint at Carlisle, and later by the appointment of Erebald, or Erembald, for the name appeared in both forms on the coins and in the records, as the Crown-lessee of the mines and chief moneyer of the mint, for the two were worked together. He was still there when, upon Stephen's accession, David of Scotland, in the interests of his niece, the Empress Matilda, and no doubt attracted by the wealth of the output of silver, revived his old claim to Waltheof's earldom of Bernicia, and in 1136 seized Carlisle, Newcastle, etc. Under David the standard of the output from the mines at once deteriorated, and as the silver was supplied to all the northern mints that fact explained the very brittle character of "the ornament series" issued at York, and the unusual quality of the metal of the coin of the Empress Matilda exhibited by Mr. Walters that evening. On this question the lecturer had consulted the well-known Professor of Geology, Sir William Boyd Dawkins, who replied, "I should think that the silver was obtained from the lead, and that

the difference between Carlisle silver and normal was due to the lead, and perhaps other impurities such as zinc not having been removed."

Erembald lived long enough to coin for Prince Henry of Scotland at Corbridge on the expedition which resulted in the rout of the Scottish army at the Battle of the Standard, and it is even possible that he fell in the battle, for we know from Domesday, under Hereford, that the moneyers were not exempt from military service. He was succeeded both as Crown-lessee of the mines and as moneyer by his son William Fitz-Erembald who paid a rent of £100, and later of £200, and in his generation issued more money than probably any other moneyer. In the records his name appeared sometimes as Willelmus filius Erembaldi and sometimes as William the Moneyer. He was therefore coining for the Scottish king at Carlisle when David, in the spring of 1141, set out with his Court upon his long journey through York and Nottingham to attend the proposed coronation of the Empress at Westminster on June 24th—an intention frustrated by the Londoners. David had always issued money at Carlisle in the name of Stephen for circulation in England, and now he would naturally change that to the name and title of his niece Matilda, especially as he would need English money for the expenses of his journey. That the change was quite recent and on the spur of the moment was evidenced by the fact that the three coins known to Mr. Andrew, of which Mr. Walters exhibited one and another was a mere fragment, were found together at Nottingham in 1880 and were all from the same pair of dies. Their standard, design, lettering, workmanship, Latin inscription, and spelling, all indicated Scottish origin, and when read together their legends were **:MATILLIS: IMP,** reverse **✠PILEMER: CARDAI:.**

The contraction Wilem was quite usual, and Latin reverse inscriptions not infrequent on Scottish coins of the period. Extended therefore the legend was +WILE/Mus filius ERembaldi, as in the records. That construction did not stand alone because on ordinary coins of Carlisle William's name was contracted, and in two instances at least was also followed by the initial E.

**Corbridge.**—The coin issued by Prince Henry of Scotland at Corbridge, being intended for circulation in England, was an imitation of Stephen's first type, *Hawkins* 270, and read ✠**HENRICVS**., reverse, ✠**EREBALD ON COLEB**:. Very probably it was struck by Henry as Earl of Northumberland when the Scottish Court was there just prior to the Battle of the Standard in 1138. Objection had been taken to the spelling Coleb' for Corbridge, but it was the Scottish form of the name, and not infrequently used in our own Pipe Rolls where, for instance, we were told that Roger de Stutville spent £6 in rebuilding the mill at "Colebrige" which had been burnt down in the Scottish war. Corbridge was then a borough, and Prince Henry is believed to have had his palace there, and some of his few located charters bear its name, one, at least, of them being witnessed there by Eustace Fitz-John. The name Erebald was the northern form of modern Archibald, and when in 1157 Northumberland was surrendered to Henry II there was an Archibald de Corbridge resident there. Possibly he was another son of the Carlisle moneyer; possibly he was himself the Corbridge moneyer.

**Newcastle.**—Our chroniclers, particularly Matthew of Westminster, told us very precisely that Carlisle, Bamborough, and Newcastle were surrendered to Henry II in 1157, and that the first issue of his money was not until the following year; yet the Pipe Rolls were equally precise in recording that at the date of the transfer William Fitz-Erembald was still lessee of the mines, and when Newcastle was first brought into the accounts, in 1159-60, he was already known as, and usually termed, "the Moneyer of Newcastle." There was just a bare margin for possibility between the dates, but it was improbable that a new mint could have been established and its moneyer have acquired a new descriptive name, whilst the affairs of the borough would be in a state of disorder caused by transfer from one government to another; nor were there any expenses then recorded for the establishment of such a mint. In that case, what had William Fitz-Erembald been coining at Newcastle?

It seemed quite certain, said Mr. Andrew, that with the exception of the Corbridge coins, the whole of Prince Henry's issues



of money as Earl of Northumberland, and a series of imitations of Stephen's money, were issued from the Newcastle mint as established by him. He would coin these only within his earldom, and where else was it likely to have been? Newcastle was already a borough, it was the chief town and the resort of the merchants of Northumberland, most of Prince Henry's located charters were granted there, and when King David caused fealty to be sworn to the Prince's second son, William, as ultimate heir to the earldom, the ceremony was held at Newcastle. But even the Latin versions of English names were foreign to the Scottish tongue, and just as David had varied that of Carlisle upon his money, so Henry might be expected to vary the usual "Castellum Novum" of Newcastle.

Titles were then still tribal, as opposed to territorial; hence Stephen was King of the English and Duke of the Normans; David King of the Scots and Lord of the Galwegians; Prince Henry, after he was Earl, had described himself on a coin in Mr. S. M. Spink's collection as "Lord of the Niduarians," and William de Mohun on two of his coins was "Lord of the Durotriges"—the tribal race of Dorset and Somerset.

At the very time that Prince Henry was instituting his coinage for Northumberland, his neighbour Richard, Prior of Hexham, was writing his *History of the Battle of the Standard* and reporting that the Scottish army included "Deirans, Bernicians, Northumbrians, and Cumbrians." It was over this old race of Bernicians, with the exception of those in the see of Durham, that the former earls of Northumberland had ruled, and Prince Henry's claim as Waltheof's heir had therefore been to Bernicia, but Stephen had compromised with a grant of an earldom of Northumberland only, the land of the inner tribe of Bernicians known as the Ottadeni. Therefore they could well understand that, if Prince Henry, when choosing his tribal title for the money, followed the custom of the Prior of Hexham he would if at peace with Stephen and coining money in Stephen's name for circulation in England, describe Newcastle upon it as the capital, or "City of the Ottadeni"; but when he was coining independently in his own name for his own

people in Northumberland as part of Scotland, he would exercise his full claim and describe Newcastle as the "City of the Bernicians."

Mr. Andrew would now illustrate this by examples of the three earlier issues of Prince Henry, but the rest, which included other types, fell into line, as he hoped to show on a future occasion :—

1. Obverse : **✠STIFENE RE.** An imitation of Stephen's first type.

Reverse : **✠:WI:LEL:M:ON:CAST:** British Museum *Catalogue*, lxix, 4; similar to *Hawkins* 629 which also was of that series.

In this instance, the money being for circulation in England, the English form "*Castrum super Tinam*," as used, for instance, by Henry de Knyghton, or *Castellum Novum*, was adopted, and the attribution to William Fitz-Erembald and Newcastle seemed convincing.

2. Obverse : **✠STIFNE RE.** Similar to No. 1.

Reverse : **✠:WILEL:M:ON:OBCL.** Plate lix, No. 2.

The curious arrangement of the colons and the form of lettering of this coin clearly identify it with the same moneyer and mint as No. 1. The *theta* was still in use in Scotland, also occasionally on English money, and the letter resembling a B was generally accepted as such, and served the double purpose of TH and TT. The name was therefore either OTHCI or OTTCI. On this and the next variety the CI appeared and no doubt represented *Civitas*. The extension of the name would therefore admit OTTadinorum *Civitas*, but, if preferred, OTHadinorum would also meet the case.

3. Prince Henry's ordinary issue as Earl of Northumberland bearing his name and title as Earl on the obverse, with :—

Reverse : **✠:WILEL:M:ON:CI:B.** Plate lix, No. 1.

Except for the Earl's name instead of Stephen's on the obverse, and variation in the spelling of the mint name, this coin was identical

with No. 2 ; in fact either one of the reverse dies must have been merely altered, or both copied from the same model. So the identity of both moneyer and mint seemed now to be established for the complete series of these three varieties. Of these, No. 3, representing as it did Henry's ordinary issues for currency amongst his own subjects, bore the description of Newcastle which admitted extension to *CIvitas Berniciorum*.

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### ANNIVERSARY MEETING.

*December 1st, 1924, for St. Andrew's Day, Sunday, November 30th.*

Mr. GRANT R. FRANCIS, *President, in the Chair.*

#### *Exhibitions.*

In illustration of Mr. Raymond Carlyon-Britton's paper :—

By Mr. F. A. Walters :—Edward IV. Groats ; obverse with mint-mark, cross No. 1 of the paper, pierced, on the obverse, sun on the reverse ; cross No. 2 on the obverse and sun on the reverse. Angel, cross No. 3, obverse, only. Groat, cross No. 3, obverse and reverse. Henry VI, restored. Groats, obverse, cross No. 4, reverse, lys ; cross No. 5, obverse and reverse. Edward IV. Groats ; obverse, large annulet, reverse, No. 3 ; obverse, large annulet, reverse trefoil ; obverse and reverse, small annulet ; obverse, small annulet, reverse annulet enclosing pellet.

By Mr. R. C. Lockett :—Edward IV. Nobles, two varieties with mint-mark lys ; angel of the period of the mint-mark cross fitchée. Henry VI. Angels, Bristol mint, reading **hENRICV** and **hENRICVS**, with mint-mark pierced cross. Half-angels, mint-mark lys, and lys after **VRICV**, queried to York ; mint-mark, pierced cross. Half-groats of the Restoration coinage, plain cross, reading **RR** ; pierced cross, reading **RRπ**, apparently an unrecorded variation.

General:—

By Mr. R. M. Simon :—Two unusually clever forgeries of the series which passed the hammer until exposed by Mr. Lawrence in volumes II–IV of the Society's *Journal*.

By Mr. Ivo Pakenham :—Richard II. Half-groat struck from dies of Edward III on which that King's name had been altered to Richard's, obverse, **RICARDVS** and pellet over the crown; reverse, two saltires at the commencement of the inner legend, and unbarred N's in the word London.

By Miss Helen Farquhar :—One of the only two known portraits of Charles II struck in the form of an oval plaque of thin silver. The beauty of its art suggested the hand of John Roettiers. A collection of memorials of Charles I.

By Mr. Lionel L. Fletcher :—A Columbian farthing "muled" with the reverse of a coronation medalet of George IV. Bronze advertisement medal or token of "Harris, Surgeon, Redruth, 1840."

### *Paper.*

#### THE SEQUENCE OF MINT-MARKS PRECEDING, DURING, AND SUCCEEDING THE RESTORATION OF HENRY VI.

Mr. Raymond Carlyon-Britton contributed a short paper under this heading, in which one of his principal objects was to distinguish between the mint-mark cross fitchée with the stalk cut off, namely, his cross No. 3, and the "Restoration" cross, his cross No. 5. He brought evidence to prove that cross No. 3 was the last mint-mark of the first regnal period of Edward IV and that true coins bearing it all belonged to that time. The occurrence of this mint-mark in the form of "mules" during the Restoration of Henry VI, and upon a few of the earliest pieces of Edward IV's second regnal period was due to the use of old reverse dies. Also he explained that the angels of Edward's first period with the mint-mark cross No. 3 were those from which Henry VI copied the type of his angels.

He did not agree with the attribution to York of the very few angels known of Henry VI with mint-mark lys at the end of the reverse legend, which he contended were of the London mint. Should any product of the very small quantity of bullion coined during the period at York be found, it would, he thought, have the initial **a** in the waves, corresponding with the **B** upon the Bristol pieces. (The paper is printed in this volume.)

The President then read

#### THE COUNCIL'S REPORT.

*November 30th, 1924.*

The Council presents its 21st Annual Report to the Members for the year 1924, and congratulates the Society upon attaining the 21st anniversary of its birthday.

The session has been notable for the addition of no fewer than six Royal Members to the Society, namely: Their Majesties King Christian X and Queen Alexandrine of Denmark and Iceland, King Gustav and Queen Victoria of Sweden, and Their Royal Highnesses the Crown Prince and Crown Princess of Sweden, each of whom has signed the Royal Roll.

The last-named addition to our list will be particularly gratifying to Members from the fact that Her Royal Highness is the daughter of an honoured and lamented Member of the Society, the late Marquis of Milford-Haven, who as a Royal Member of the Society attended Meetings, and read his important paper "Medallic Illustrations of Naval History" in person. It is printed in Volume XIII of the *Journal*.

The interest of the Society's Royal autograph book has been increased by adding at the foot of each page containing the Royal Members' signatures, their titles and dates of election. For this the Council expresses its thanks to the President, who had the additions very carefully engrossed.

We have lost by death during the past year three Members, and seven have resigned since the publication of the last report. In

the late Dr. R. T. Cassal the Society lost a Member who, during the war and since, always trebled his subscription.

Our numbers have, however, been increased by the addition of the following seven new Members :—

Mr. Joseph Bles.

Mr. Edmund Parsons, J.P.

Mr. A. B. Chapman.

Mr. Ferris P. Merritt.

Mr. Hamilton Clements.

Mrs. W. H. Tribute.

Mr. Joseph Ford.

The Council would like to point out that the recruits to the Society during the past year fall far short of the numbers elected in recent years since the war, and makes a confident appeal to everyone to endeavour to bring into membership any of their friends who are interested in British numismatics, or in the welfare of the Society.

The President, Mr. Grant R. Francis, has presided over all the meetings during the year, and at their April meeting the Council requested him to extend his tenure of the position for a further year, in spite of the fact that his original election to the Presidential Office was, subject, of course, to the annual Ballot for Officers and Council, to be for a period of two years only. To this request the President has assented, subject to your voting at this Meeting.

Sir William Wells as Treasurer has been indefatigable in the management of the Society's accounts, and in his examination of the lists of Members, with the result that certain Members, who now cannot be traced, have been removed from the Society's lists. Mr. H. A. Parsons has conducted the business of the Society's Library with his usual efficient energy, and the Society's thanks are due to these Officers for their efforts on its behalf.

This, of course, also applies to our Secretary, Mr. Andrew, who under most adverse circumstances has not only laboured at his Secretarial and Editorial work far beyond his physical strength, but has also given us two of the most interesting lectures of the year in continuation of his Numismatic History of the reign of Stephen.

The work of our Honorary Assistant Secretary to the Council, Miss Andrews, is perhaps less known to Members, but, nevertheless,

has been of great value to the President and Secretary, and to the Council generally.

The Council regrets that the unavoidable delays to Volume XVI have continued, and that the notice sent out at its request by the President last April, that the volume would be in the hands of Members at the latest by the month of August, has not been possible of fulfilment. Unfortunately, Mr. Andrew's health after his accident suffered several relapses during the year, and his dangerous illness during the summer made it quite impossible for him to complete the volume as he had hoped, but to our great relief and satisfaction he now appears to be nearly recovered, and every effort is being made for the immediate publication of Volume XVI, which is now just twelve months overdue. The volume to follow will be expedited as much as the materials for it will permit.

Mr. E. H. Wheeler has again earned the Society's gratitude by a further donation of £100 in January last, which, after his many previous acts of generosity to the Society, came as a complete surprise, and was signalled by a special vote of thanks in Council at the January meeting.

Mr. Bagnall also made a donation to the Society, and our Library has benefited by several valuable additions during the year.

The Council desires to express its thanks to Mr. Lionel L. Fletcher and Mr. R. Montagu Simon for acting as Auditors of the accounts, and to Mr. H. A. Parsons and Mr. H. W. Taffs for undertaking the Scrutators' duties at the Ballot to be held this evening for the Officers and Council for the ensuing year.

Attendances at our meetings have been satisfactory, but the Council would be gratified if these were even better attended in the future.

The Report was unanimously adopted.

Sir William Wells, F.S.A., as Honorary Treasurer, presented and explained in detail his accounts, which were in printed form and audited by the Members Mr. Lionel L. Fletcher and Mr. R. Montagu Simon, as Honorary Auditors under the Rules, and professionally by



Messrs. Gilberts, Hallett & Eglington, Chartered Accountants. They were duly passed, and are appended to this Report.

Votes of thanks for their services were accorded to the President, Treasurer, Librarian, Secretary, Assistant Secretary, Honorary Auditors and Scrutators.

#### THE BALLOT.

The Scrutators reported that the Members nominated by the Council had been elected, namely :—

#### OFFICERS AND COUNCIL FOR THE SESSION 1925.

*President* :—Grant R. Francis.

*Vice-Presidents* :—V. B. Crowther-Beynon, M.B.E., F.S.A. ; William Dale, F.S.A., F.G.S. ; Major W. J. Freer, V.D., D.L., F.S.A. ; L. A. Lawrence, F.R.C.S., F.S.A. ; Richard C. Lockett, F.S.A. ; Lieut.-Colonel H. W. Morrieson, F.S.A.

*Director* :—Frederick A. Walters, F.S.A.

*Treasurer* :—Sir William Wells, F.S.A.

*Librarian* :—H. Alexander Parsons.

*Secretary* :—W. J. Andrew, F.S.A.

*Council* :—Thomas G. Barnett, F.S.A. ; Stanley Bousfield, M.A., M.D. ; Edgar M. Burnett ; Frank E. Burton ; Miss Helen Farquhar ; Lionel L. Fletcher ; G. Hamilton-Smith ; Walter L. Pocock ; R. Montagu Simon ; W. Beresford Smith ; The Rev. Edgar Rogers, O.B.E., M.A. ; H. W. Taffs, M.B.E. ; Frederick Toplis ; Ernest H. Wheeler ; Charles Winter.

The British Numismatic Society.

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDED NOVEMBER 18TH, 1924.

[illegible]

*Anniversary Meeting, December 1st, 1924.*

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Proceedings of the Society.

(Signed) GILBERTS, HALLETT & EGLINGTON, *Chartered Accountants*,  
30, Throgmorton Street, E.C. 2.

We have examined the above Balance Sheet with the Books and Vouchers of the Society, and are of opinion that, subject to the above remarks, the same is properly drawn up so as to exhibit a true and correct view of the state of the Society's affairs according to the best of our information and explanations given to us and as shown by the Books of the Society.

November 19th, 1924.

R. MONTAGU SIMON } *Auditors.*  
LIONEL L. FLETCHER }

LISTS OF MEMBERS  
OF  
The British Numismatic Society  
ON  
JANUARY 1st, 1927.

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PATRON: HIS MAJESTY KING GEORGE V.

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ROYAL MEMBERS.

HIS MAJESTY THE KING.  
HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN.  
HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE PRINCE OF WALES.  
HER ROYAL HIGHNESS THE PRINCESS BEATRICE.

*In Alphabetical Order.*

HIS MAJESTY ALBERT, KING OF THE BELGIANS.  
HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN OF THE BELGIANS.  
HIS MAJESTY CHRISTIAN X., KING OF DENMARK AND ICELAND.  
HER MAJESTY ALEXANDRINE, QUEEN OF DENMARK AND ICELAND.  
HIS MAJESTY VICTOR EMMANUEL III., KING OF ITALY.  
HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN OF ITALY.  
HIS MAJESTY HAAKON VII., KING OF NORWAY.  
HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN OF NORWAY.  
HIS MAJESTY ALFONSO XIII., KING OF SPAIN.  
HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN OF SPAIN.  
HER MAJESTY QUEEN CHRISTINA OF SPAIN.  
HIS MAJESTY GUSTAV, KING OF SWEDEN.  
HER MAJESTY VICTORIA, QUEEN OF SWEDEN.  
HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE CROWN PRINCE OF SWEDEN.  
HER ROYAL HIGHNESS THE CROWN PRINCESS OF SWEDEN.  
HIS MAJESTY KING MANUEL II.  
HER MAJESTY QUEEN AMELIA.

## HONORARY MEMBERS.

*In Order of Election.*

1903. SIR HENRY CHURCHILL MAXWELL-LYTE, K.C.B., M.A., F.B.A., F.S.A., Deputy  
Keeper of the Public Records, 61, Warwick Square, London, S.W. 1.
1905. VERNON HORACE RENDALL, Esq., B.A., 15, Wellesley Mansions, Kensington,  
London, W.
1911. ALFRED ANSCOMBE, Esq., F.R.Hist.S., 30, Albany Road, London, N. 4.
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## MEMBERS.

*The sign \* signifies that the member has compounded for his annual subscription.*

1905. \*A ABABRELTON, ROBERT, Esq., F.R.E.S., F.R.G.S., Post Box 322, Pietermaritzburg, Natal, South Africa; 30, Killyon Road, Clapham Rise, London, S.W. 4.
1921. ABBOTT, DR. G. H., President of the Australian Numismatic Society, 185, Macquarie Street, Sydney, Australia.
1904. ABERDEEN, THE PUBLIC LIBRARY, G. M. Fraser, Esq., Librarian, Aberdeen.
1907. ABERDEEN, THE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, W. Douglas Simpson, Esq., D.Litt., Librarian, Aberdeen.
1906. AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY, THE, 156th Street, West of Broadway, New York.
1903. ANDREW, W. J., Esq., F.S.A., The Old House, Michelmersh, near Romsey, Hampshire.
1906. ANTIQUARIES OF LONDON, THE SOCIETY OF, Burlington House, Piccadilly, London, W. 1.
1915. ANTIQUARIES OF SCOTLAND, THE SOCIETY OF, Edinburgh, J. Graham Callander, Esq., F.S.A.Scot., Secretary.
1904. ARMSTRONG, FRANK, Esq., "The Moorlands," Cornhill Road, Davyhulme, near Urmston, Manchester.
1922. BAGNALL, A. E., Esq., 3, Castle Road, Shipley, Yorkshire.
1922. BAGOT, HUGH NEVILLE, Esq., "The Poplars," Bereweeke Road, Winchester.
1903. BAIN, R. DONALD, Esq., Poyle Manor, Colnbrook, Buckinghamshire.
1905. BAIRD, THE REV. DR. ANDREW B., 247, Colony Street, Winnipeg, Canada.
1903. BALDWIN, A. H., Esq., 4A, Duncannon Street, London, W.C. 2.
1923. BALDWIN, A. H. F., Esq., 40, Craven Street, London, W.C. 2.
1903. BALDWIN, PERCY J. D., Esq., 4A, Duncannon Street, London, W.C. 2.
1923. BARKER, A. LEIGH, Esq., Spreacombe Manor, Braunton, Devonshire.
1904. \*BARNARD, ROBERT, Esq., M.E., C.C.M., M.I.M.E., c/o Messrs. Gibson and Weldon, 27, Chancery Lane, London, W.C. 2.

1921. BARNETT, THOMAS G., Esq., F.S.A., Monument Farm, Rednal, near Birmingham.
1907. BARRETT, SIDNEY EDWARD, Esq., B.A., M.B., F.Z.S., The Limes, Tillingham, near Southminster, Essex.
1903. BAYLEY, ARTHUR R., Esq., B.A., St. Margaret's, Malvern.
1903. BEAUMONT, EDWARD, Esq., M.A., 1, New Square, Lincoln's Inn, London, W.C. 2.
1909. BELFAST CENTRAL PUBLIC LIBRARY, J. B. Goldsbrough, Esq., Chief Librarian, Belfast, Ireland.
1910. BELFAST LIBRARY AND SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING KNOWLEDGE, F. J. P. Burgoyne, Esq., Librarian, Linen Hall Library, Donegal Square North, Belfast.
1911. BERRY, Sir JAMES, F.R.C.S., 21, Wimpole Street, London, W. 1.
1923. BEST, JOHN, Esq., 5, Balfour Road, Southport, Lancashire.
1904. BIRKENHEAD FREE PUBLIC LIBRARIES, John Shepherd, Esq., Librarian, Central Library, Birkenhead.
1914. BIRKIN, LIEUT.-COLONEL R. LESLIE, D.S.O., J.P., Edale House, The Park, Nottingham.
1906. BIRMINGHAM PUBLIC LIBRARIES, Reference Department, Walter Powell, Esq., Chief Librarian, Ratcliff Place, Birmingham.
1904. BLACKBURN FREE LIBRARY, MUSEUM AND ART GALLERY, THE, R. Ashton, Esq., Librarian and Curator.
1904. BODKIN, SIR ARCHIBALD HENRY, 5, Paper Buildings, Temple, London, E.C. 4.
1906. BOILEAU, LIEUT.-COLONEL RAYMOND FREDERIC, J.P., Ketteringham Park, Wymondham, Norfolk.
1907. BOOTLE CENTRAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM, THE, C. H. Hunt, Esq., Librarian and Curator, Oriel Road, Bootle, Lancashire.
1904. BOUSFIELD, STANLEY, Esq., M.A., M.D., B.C., M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P., 10, Albion Street, Hyde Park, London, W. 2.
1903. \*BOWLES, COLONEL HENRY FERRYMAN, M.A., J.P., Forty Hall, Enfield, Middlesex.
1903. \*BRAND, VIRGIL M., Esq., 1251, Elston Avenue, Chicago, U.S.A.
1910. BRIGG, M. ALFRED, Esq., Carlinghow, Batley, Yorkshire.
1904. BRIGHTON PUBLIC LIBRARY, Henry D. Roberts, Esq., Director, Brighton.
1903. BRITTON, MAJOR A. H. D., D.S.O., Glen, Soberton Road, Queen's Park, Bournemouth.
1919. BROOKE, G. C., Esq., M.A., Oakwood, 12, Outram Road, Croydon.
1909. BROOKLYN PUBLIC LIBRARY, Frank P. Hill, Esq., Librarian, 26, Brevoort Place, Brooklyn, U.S.A.
1915. BRUSHFIELD, A. N., Esq., M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P., Budleigh, Halifax, Yorkshire.



1926. \*BURR, CHARLES W., Esq., M.D., 1918, Spruce Street, Philadelphia.  
1911. BURTON, FRANK ERNEST, Esq., J.P., Orston Hall, Nottinghamshire.
1903. CALDECOTT, J. B., Esq., 34-35, New Bond Street, London, W. 1.  
1903. CALVERT, J. R., Esq., 63, Eastbank Street, Southport.  
1908. CAMBRIDGE, THE FITZWILLIAM MUSEUM, S. C. Cockerell, Esq., Director.  
1904. CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, A. F. Scholfield, Esq., Librarian.  
1922. \*CAMPBELL, MRS. ROBERT JAMES, Hotel Weylin, 40, East 54th Street, New York.  
1904. CARDIFF FREE LIBRARIES, Harry Farr, Esq., Librarian.  
1903. \*CARLYON-BRITTON, MAJOR P. W. P., D.L., J.P., F.S.A., Eversfield, Fishbourne, near Chichester.  
1911. CARLYON-BRITTON, RAYMOND C., Esq., Eversfield, Fishbourne, near Chichester.  
1906. CARTER, ERNEST CHRISTISON, Esq., M.D., M.R.C.P., "The Elms," Forty Hill, Enfield, Middlesex.  
1903. \*CAVE, VISCOUNT, P.C., K.C., D.L., J.P., B.A., 4, New Square, Lincoln's Inn, London, W.C. 2.  
1924. CHAPMAN, A. B., Esq., 40, High Pavement, Nottingham.  
1903. CHITTY, ALFRED, Esq., Ewelme, Turner Street, South Camberwell, 27, Melbourne, Australia.  
1914. CHRISTOPHER, RICHARD THORNEY, Esq., West View, Bradford-on-Avon, Wiltshire.  
1906. CINCINNATI PUBLIC LIBRARY, Ohio, U.S.A., c/o Messrs. Stevens and Brown, 4, Trafalgar Square, London, S.W. 1.  
1912. \*CLARKE-THORNHILL, T. B., Esq., 3, Carlisle Place, Victoria Street, London S.W. 1.  
1924. CLEMENTS, HAMILTON, Esq., Kynaston, Caterham Valley, Surrey.  
1904. COLCHESTER, THE CORPORATION OF, H. C. Wanklyn, Esq., Town Clerk, Colchester.  
1926. COLES, COLONEL A. HORSMAN, C.M.G., D.S.O., 18, Walpole Street, Chelsea, S.W. 3.  
1909. CONGRESS, LIBRARY OF, Washington, D.C., U.S.A., Herbert Putnam, Esq., Litt.D., LL.D., Librarian, c/o Messrs. Edward G. Allen and Son, Limited, 14, Grape Street, Shaftesbury Avenue, London, W. 2.  
1909. CORNWALL, THE ROYAL INSTITUTION, COUNTY MUSEUM AND ART GALLERY OF TRURO, George Penrose, Esq., Curator.  
1904. CRANE, ALBERT CHARLES, Esq., 11, Duckett Road, London, N. 4.  
1915. CREE, JAMES EDWARD, Esq., F.S.A.Scot., Tusculum, North Berwick, Haddingtonshire.

1920. CROSS, HAROLD, Esq., M.D., Caradoc, Clun, Shropshire.  
 1913. CROUCH, WILLIAM, Esq., Friarscroft, Aylesbury.  
 1922. CROWTHER-BEYNON, VERNON B., Esq., M.B.E., M.A., F.S.A., Westfield, Beckenham, Kent.  
 1922. CUNNINGTON, THOMAS M., Esq., Heylesbury, 88, West End Lane, London, N.W.
1903. DANIELS, JAMES HERBERT, Esq., 13, Brixton Road, Brighton.  
 1903. DAVIS, W. J., Esq., C.H., 21, Rue de Chatres, Nevilly, Paris.  
 1925. DEACON, JAMES HUNT, Esq., Wotton-under-Edge, Bulls Creek Road, Torrens Park, Adelaide, South Australia.  
 1917. DENMARK, THE ROYAL COLLECTION OF COINS AND MEDALS, Copenhagen.  
 1926. DENTON, ARTHUR R., "The Myrtles," Haygate Road, Wellington, Shropshire.  
 1906. DENTON, SIR GEORGE CHARDIN, K.C.M.G., Hilltop, Headington Hill, Oxford.  
 1904. DERBY FREE PUBLIC LIBRARY, THE, W. H. Walton, Esq., F.L.A., Librarian, Derby.  
 1914. DESICA CHARIAR, DIWAN BAHADUR T., B.A., Trichinopoly, Southern India.  
 1910. \*DEVONSHIRE, THE DUKE OF, Chatsworth, Derbyshire.  
 1913. DRING, E. H., Esq.,—Bernard Quaritch,—11, Grafton Street, New Bond Street, London, W. 1.  
 1910. DUBLIN, DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE, The Controller, The Stationery Office, Oriel House, Westland Row, Dublin.  
 1904. DUBLIN, THE ROYAL IRISH ACADEMY, R. Lloyd Praeger, Esq., O.B.E., Librarian, 19, Dawson Street, Dublin.  
 1904. DUBLIN, TRUSTEES OF THE NATIONAL LIBRARY, Dublin.  
 1909. DUTERTRE-DELÉVIELEUSE, M. LE DOCTEUR AUGUSTE, R.E., 12, Rue Coquelin, Boulogne-sur-Mer, France.
1904. ECKERSLEY, JAMES CARLTON, Esq., M.A., J.P., Carlton Manor, Yeadon, Leeds.  
 1904. EDINBURGH, THE NATIONAL LIBRARY OF SCOTLAND, W. K. Dickson, Esq., The Keeper, Edinburgh.  
 1903. EDINBURGH PUBLIC LIBRARY, Hew Morrison, Esq., LL.D., Principal Librarian.  
 1920. EDINBURGH, THE ROYAL SCOTTISH MUSEUM, N. D. Cuthbertson, Esq., Librarian.

1913. EDINBURGH, THE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, F. C. Nicholson, Esq., M.A., Librarian.  
1904. EILOART, FREDERICK EDWARD, Esq., F.S.I., 40, Chancery Lane, London, W.C. 2.  
1904. ELDER, THOMAS L., Esq., 32, East 23rd Street, New York.  
1903. ELLIOTT, ERNEST A., Esq., 41, Chapel Park Road, St. Leonards-on-Sea.  
1922. ELLISTON, GEORGE S., Esq., M.C., M.A., 1, Upper Montague Street, Bloomsbury, London, W.C. 1.  
1903. ESCHWEGE, MAURICE, Esq., 26, Prescott Road, Knotty Ash, Liverpool.  
1903. EVANS, LIEUT.-COLONEL C. L., R.G.A., "Corris," Wash Hill, Newbury.  
1905. EXETER, UNIVERSITY COLLEGE AND CITY LIBRARY, H. Tapley Soper, Esq., F.S.A., F.R.Hist.S., City Librarian.
1907. FAGAN, GENERAL C. S. FELTRIM, F.R.G.S., Highclere, Torquay.  
1903. FARQUHAR, MISS HELEN, 11, Belgrave Square, London, S.W. 1.  
1915. FAULKNER, W. J., Esq., Sutton House, Endon, Stoke-on-Trent.  
1903. FENTIMAN, H., Esq., Murray House, Murray Road, Ealing Park, London, W. 5.  
1922. FINLAND, THE NATIONAL MUSEUM OF, Helsingfors.  
1903. FLETCHER, LIONEL L., Esq., Tupwood, Caterham, Surrey.  
1923. FORD, JOSEPH, Esq., Box 274, Missoula, Montana, U.S.A.  
1903. FORRER, L., Esq., Helvetia, 14, Homefield Road, Bromley, Kent.  
1910. FOX, CHARLES MASSON, Esq., Woodlane Cottage, Falmouth.  
1903. FRANCIS, GRANT RICHARDSON, Esq., F.S.A., Drumgay, Guildford, Surrey.  
1912. FRASER, GORDON, Esq., c/o Messrs. Best & Co., Ltd., Post Box 63, Madras, India.  
1903. FREER, MAJOR WILLIAM J., V.D., D.L., F.S.A., The Stony-Gate, Leicester.  
1921. FRENCH, EDWARD JOHN, Esq., M.A., St. Ann's, Donnybrook, County Dublin.
1906. GARDNER, WILLOUGHBY, Esq., F.S.A., F.L.S., F.R.G.S., Y Berlfa, Deganwy, North Wales.  
1924. GARNETT, S. ALAN, Esq., 69, Ennismore Gardens, London, W.  
1922. GILLINGHAM, HARROLD EDGAR, Esq., 432, West Price Street, Philadelphia, U.S.A.  
1903. GLASGOW, THE MITCHELL LIBRARY, S. A. Pitt, Esq., Librarian, North Street, Glasgow.  
1903. GLENDINING, D., Esq., 7, Argyll Street, London, W. 1.  
1927. GODMAN, DAME ALICE M., D.B.E., 45, Pont Street, S.W. 1.

1926. GOODACRE, HUGH GEORGE, Esq., J.P., Ullesthorpe Court, Lutterworth, Leicestershire.
1925. GRANT, R. A., Esq., 14, Vicars Close, Wells, Somerset.
1903. GRANTLEY, LORD, D.L., J.P., F.S.A., Weeke Manor, near Winchester.
1921. GRUNDY, WALTER E., Esq., 4, Salisbury Road, Leicester.
1904. GUILDHALL LIBRARY, THE, Bernard Kettle, Esq., Librarian, London, E.C. 2.
1903. GWYER, SAMUEL EDWARD, Esq., 7, Argyll Street, London, W. 1.
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1909. HAARER, JOHN W., Esq., 207, West Saint Joseph Street, Lansing, Michigan, U.S.A.
1919. HALL, HENRY PLATT, Esq., Pentreheylin Hall, Llanymynech, Montgomeryshire.
1904. HARBORD, PHILIP, Esq., J.P., Northwold Lodge, Norfolk.
1920. HARRIS, B. W., Esq., Lynwood, Boldmere, Erdington, Birmingham.
1905. HARRISON, BERNARD GUY, Esq., F.R.A.S., F.R.G.S., Valehyrst, Sevenoaks, Kent.
1909. HARVARD UNIVERSITY, LIBRARY OF, Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A., William C. Lane, Esq., Librarian, c/o Messrs. Edward G. Allen and Son, Limited, 14, Grape Street, Shaftesbury Avenue, London, W.C. 2.
1921. \*HATTORI, T., Esq., 7, Nakamaike, Nishi-Suma, Kobe, Japan.
1922. HODGSON, THOMAS VERE, Esq., The Museum and Art Gallery, Plymouth.
1903. HODGSON, VICTOR TYLSTON, Esq., F.S.A., Cuilcheanna, Onich, Inverness-shire.
1921. HOLBROOK, LIEUT.-COMMANDER NORMAN D., V.C., Stoke Lodge, Hyde Park Gate, London, S.W. 7.
1917. HOLBROOK, MRS. NORMAN D., Stoke Lodge, Hyde Park Gate, London, S.W. 7.
1917. \*HOWAT, WILLIAM, Esq., Glaisnock, 458, William Street, Melbourne, Australia.
1905. HUGHES-HUGHES, MONTAGU EDWARD, Esq., J.P., F.S.A., 31, Cumberland Terrace, Regent's Park, London, N.W. 1.
1906. \*HUNTINGTON, ARCHER MILTON, Esq., The American Numismatic Society, Hispanic Society Building, 156th Street; and Audubon Park, New York, U.S.A.
- 
1906. INGLIS, ROBERT ALEXANDER, Esq., B.A., Botanical Division, Central Experimental Farm, Ottawa, Canada.
- 
1909. KING, HORACE HERBERT, Esq., Brookside, North Chapel, Petworth, Sussex.
1923. KNOWLES, THE REV. J. G., M.A., Unsworth Vicarage, Whitefield, Manchester.

1903. LAVER, PHILIP, Esq., F.S.A., King's Head House, Head Street, Colchester.
1903. LAWRENCE, L. A., Esq., F.R.C.S., F.S.A., 44, Belsize Square, London, N.W. 3.
1904. LEE, ERNEST HARRY, Esq., 153, Musters Road, West Bridgford, and 71, Upper Parliament Street, Nottingham.
1904. LEEDS PUBLIC FREE LIBRARIES, THE, Thomas W. Hand, Esq., Chief Librarian, Central Free Public Library, Leeds.
1905. LEICESTER, THE MUNICIPAL LIBRARIES OF, C. V. Kirkby, Esq., Librarian, Leicester.
1911. LEICESTERSHIRE ARCHITECTURAL AND ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY, THE, 10, New Street, Leicester.
1904. LEIGH PUBLIC LIBRARY, J. D. Gifford, Esq., Librarian, Leigh, Lancashire.
1913. LINCOLN, FREDERICK WILLIAM, Esq., 69, New Oxford Street, London, W.C. 1.
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